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LUCIAN

VI

LUCIAN

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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ASSISTANT MASTER, RAYNES PARK COUNTY
GRAMMAR SCHOOL

IN EIGHT VOLUMES

VI

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PREFACE

THE new Teubner edition of these pieces has still not appeared and there is no adequate critical edition. In establishing a text I have had access to photostats of Vaticanus 90 (Γ) and Parisinus 2957 (N).

The trustees of the Loeb Classical Library have kindly passed on to me the unfinished preparatory work done for this volume by Professors Harmon and Rouse. I have used some of this material as a check and have occasionally adopted an expression from one or other of my predecessors.

I should like to thank especially Professor W. A. Laidlaw of Queen Mary College, University of London, who has checked the translation of most of the work; I have used several of his suggestions and am grateful for his help and encouragement.

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THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

HOW TO WRITE HISTORY

The Parthian War here referred to was that of A.D. 162–165 against Vologesus III. He defeated the Romans at Elegeia in 162, destroying the Roman legion; the Roman commander Severianus was killed in the fighting. However, he was driven back from the Syrian border by Lucius Verus. Avidius Cassius destroyed Babylon and Ctesiphon, and Statius Priscus took Artaxata, the Parthian capital. Lucian criticises the flock of petty historians who had rushed to chronicle the war. The work is ostensibly a letter to Philo, of whom nothing further is known, and was written before the end of the war—Lucian looks forward to the triumph still to be celebrated (ch. 31).

ΠΩΣ ΔΕΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΝ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΕΙΝ

1 Ἀβδηρίταις φασὶ Λυσιμάχου ἤδη βασιλεύοντος ἐμπεσεῖν τι νόσημα, ὦ καλὲ Φίλων, τοιοῦτο· πυρέττειν μὲν γὰρ τὰ πρῶτα πανδημεὶ ἅπαντας ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης εὐθὺς ἐρρωμένως καὶ λιπαρεῖ τῷ πυρετῷ, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἑβδόμην τοῖς μὲν αἷμα πολὺ ἐκ ῥινῶν ῥυέν, τοῖς δ' ἱδρὼς ἐπιγενόμενος, πολὺς καὶ οὗτος, ἔλυσεν τὸν πυρετόν. ἐς γελοῖον δέ τι πάθος περιίστα τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν· ἅπαντες γὰρ ἐς τραγῳδίαν παρεκίνουν καὶ ἰαμβεῖα ἐφθέγγοντο καὶ μέγα ἐβόων· μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Εὐριπίδου Ἀνδρομέδαν ἐμονῴδουν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Περσέως ῥῆσιν ἐν μέλει [1] διεξῄεσαν, καὶ μεστὴ ἦν ἡ πόλις ὠχρῶν ἁπάντων καὶ λεπτῶν τῶν ἑβδομαίων ἐκείνων τραγῳδῶν,

> σὺ δ' ὦ θεῶν τύραννε κἀνθρώπων Ἔρως,

καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ ἀναβοώντων καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολύ, ἄχρι δὴ χειμὼν καὶ κρύος δὲ μέγα γενόμενον ἔπαυσε ληροῦντας αὐτούς. αἰτίαν δέ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦ τοιούτου παρασχεῖν Ἀρχέλαος ὁ τραγῳδός, εὐδοκιμῶν τότε, μεσοῦντος θέρους ἐν πολλῷ τῷ φλογμῷ τραγῳδήσας αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν, ὡς πυρέξαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀναστάντας ὕστερον ἐς τὴν τραγῳδίαν παρολισθαίνειν, ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐμφιλοχω-

HOW TO WRITE HISTORY

They say, my dear Philo, that in the reign of King Lysimachus the people of Abdera were smitten by an epidemic. These were its symptoms: at first every one of them fell ill of a fever, violent and obstinate right from the start; about the seventh day it was broken, in some cases by a copious flow of blood from the nostrils, in others by heavy sweating; but their minds were left in a ridiculous state; they all went mad with tragedy, shouting iambics and creating a din; and they mostly sang solos from Euripides' "Andromeda,"[1] rendering Perseus' speech in song; the city was full of these seventh-day tragedians, all pale and thin, roaring,

"Love, you tyrant of gods and men"

and the rest in a loud voice, hour after hour, day after day, until winter and a severe cold spell stopped their noise. Archelaüs the actor seems to me to blame for such goings on. He was popular then, and in the middle of summer in the blazing heat had played the "Andromeda" for them, so that most of them brought their fever away from the theatre with them, and later when they left their beds relapsed into tragedy;

[1] Or "sang as a solo Andromeda's part in Euripides' play."

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[1] μέλει γ : μέρει β.

ρούσης τῆς Ἀνδρομέδας τῇ μνήμῃ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ Περσέως ἔτι σὺν τῇ Μεδούσῃ τὴν ἑκάστου γνώμην περιπετομένου.

2 Ὡς οὖν ἕν, φασίν, ἑνὶ παραβαλεῖν, τὸ Ἀβδηριτικὸν ἐκεῖνο πάθος καὶ νῦν τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν πεπαιδευμένων περιελήλυθεν, οὐχ ὥστε τραγῳδεῖν—ἔλαττον γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο παρέπαιον ἀλλοτρίοις ἰαμβείοις, οὐ φαύλοις κατεσχημένοι. ἀλλ᾽ ἀφ᾽ οὗ δὴ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ ταῦτα κεκίνηται—ὁ πόλεμος ὁ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τραῦμα καὶ αἱ συνεχεῖς νῖκαι—οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐχ ἱστορίαν συγγράφει· μᾶλλον δὲ Θουκυδίδαι καὶ Ἡρόδοτοι καὶ Ξενοφῶντες ἡμῖν ἅπαντες, καί, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀληθὲς ἄρ᾽ ἦν ἐκεῖνο τό "Πόλεμος ἁπάντων πατήρ"[1], εἴ γε καὶ συγγραφέας τοσούτους ἀνέφυσεν ὑπὸ μιᾷ τῇ ὁρμῇ.

3 Ταῦτα τοίνυν, ὦ φιλότης, ὁρῶντα καὶ ἀκούοντά με τὸ τοῦ Σινωπέως ἐκεῖνο εἰσῆλθεν· ὁπότε γὰρ ὁ Φίλιππος ἐλέγετο ἤδη ἐπελαύνειν, οἱ Κορίνθιοι πάντες ἐταράττοντο καὶ ἐν ἔργῳ ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν ὅπλα ἐπισκευάζων, ὁ δὲ λίθους παραφέρων, ὁ δὲ ὑποικοδομῶν τοῦ τείχους, ὁ δὲ ἔπαλξιν ὑποστηρίζων, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ἄλλο τι τῶν χρησίμων ὑπουργῶν. ὁ δὴ Διογένης ὁρῶν ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν εἶχεν ὅ τι καὶ πράττοι—οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐς οὐδὲν ἐχρῆτο—διαζωσάμενος τὸ τριβώνιον σπουδῇ μάλα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκύλιε τὸν πίθον, ἐν ᾧ ἐτύγχανεν οἰκῶν, ἄνω καὶ κάτω τοῦ Κρανείου. καί τινος τῶν συνήθων ἐρομένου, Τί ταῦτα ποιεῖς, ὦ Διόγενες; Κυλίω, ἔφη, κἀγὼ τὸν πίθον, ὡς μὴ μόνος ἀργεῖν δοκοίην ἐν τοσούτοις ἐργαζομένοις.

[1] A saying of Heraclitus.

the " Andromeda " kept haunting their memory, and his Perseus with Medusa's head still flitted round everyone's brain.

To make as they say a comparison, that Abderite complaint has now taken hold of most of the literary world. They don't act tragedy—they would be less out of their wits if they were in the grip of other men's verses, not shoddy ones at that. No, ever since the present situation arose—the war against the barbarians, the disaster in Armenia and the run of victories—every single person is writing history; nay more, they are all Thucydideses, Herodotuses and Xenophons to us, and very true, it seems, is the saying that " War is the father of all things "[1] since at one stroke it has begotten so many historians.

As I saw and heard all this, friend, I was reminded of the story of the man of Sinope. When Philip was said to be already on the march, all the Corinthians were astir and busy, preparing weapons, bringing up stones, underpinning the wall, shoring up a battlement and doing various other useful jobs. Diogenes saw this, and as he had nothing to do—nobody made any use of him—he belted up his philosopher's cloak and very busily by himself rolled the crock in which, as it happens, he was living up and down Cornel Hill. When one of his friends asked: " Why are you doing that, Diogenes? " he replied: " I'm rolling the crock so as not to be thought the one idle man in the midst of all these workers."

4 Καὐτὸς οὖν, ὦ Φίλων, ὡς μὴ μόνος ἄφωνος εἴην ἐν οὕτω πολυφώνῳ τῷ καιρῷ μηδ' ὥσπερ κωμικὸν δορυφόρημα κεχηνὼς σιωπῇ παραφεροίμην, καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπέλαβον ὡς δυνατόν μοι κυλῖσαι τὸν πίθον, οὐχ ὥστε [1] ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν οὐδὲ πράξεις αὐτὰς διεξιέναι—οὐχ οὕτως μεγαλότολμος ἐγώ, μηδὲ τοῦτο δείσῃς περὶ ἐμοῦ. οἶδα γάρ, ἡλίκος ὁ κίνδυνος, εἰ κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν κυλίοι τις, καὶ μάλιστα οἷον τοὐμὸν τοῦτο πιθάκνιον οὐδὲ πάνυ καρτερῶς κεκεραμευμένον. δεήσει γὰρ αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸς μικρόν τι λιθίδιον προσπταίσαντα συλλέγειν τὰ ὄστρακα.

Τί οὖν ἔγνωσταί μοι καὶ πῶς ἀσφαλῶς μεθέξω τοῦ πολέμου, αὐτὸς ἔξω βέλους ἑστώς, ἐγώ σοι φράσω. "τούτου μὲν καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος" καὶ φροντίδων, ὅσαι τῷ συγγραφεῖ ἔνεισιν, ἀνέξω ἐμαυτὸν εὖ ποιῶν. παραίνεσιν δέ τινα μικρὰν καὶ ὑποθήκας ταύτας ὀλίγας ὑποθήσομαι τοῖς συγγράφουσιν, ὡς κοινωνήσαιμι αὐτοῖς τῆς οἰκοδομίας, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς, ἄκρῳ γε τῷ δακτύλῳ τοῦ πηλοῦ προσαψάμενος.

5 Καίτοι οὐδὲ παραινέσεως οἱ πολλοὶ δεῖν οἴονται σφίσιν [2] ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τέχνης τινὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βαδίζειν ἢ βλέπειν ἢ ἐσθίειν, ἀλλὰ πάνυ ῥᾷστον καὶ πρόχειρον καὶ ἅπαντος εἶναι ἱστορίαν συγγράψαι, ἤν τις ἑρμηνεῦσαι τὸ ἐπελθὸν δύνηται. τὸ δὲ οἶσθά που καὶ αὐτός, ὦ ἑταῖρε, ὡς οὐ τῶν εὐμεταχειρίστων οὐδὲ ῥᾳθύμως συντεθῆναι δυναμένων τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀλλ', εἴ τι ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἄλλο, πολλῆς τῆς φροντίδος δεόμενον, ἤν τις, ὡς ὁ

[1] ὥστε add. Fritzsche.

So in my own case, Philo, to avoid being the only mute in such a polyphonic time, pushed about open-mouthed without a word like an extra in a comedy, I thought it a good idea to roll my barrel as best I could; not to produce a history or even merely chronicle the events—I'm not so bold as that: don't be afraid that I should go that far. I know the danger of rolling it over rocks, particularly a poorly baked little barrel like mine. Just as soon as it hits against a tiny piece of stone we shall have to pick up the pieces.

I shall tell you then what I have decided to do and how I shall take part in the war in safety, keeping well out of range myself. "From your spray and surge"[1] and all the cares that attend the writer of history I shall keep myself aloof and rightly so. In fact, I shall offer a little advice and these few precepts to historians, so that I may share in the erection of their building, if not the inscription on it, by putting at any rate my finger-tip on the mortar.

Yet most of them think they don't even need advice for the job any more than they need a set of rules for walking or seeing or eating; no, they think it is perfectly simple and easy to write history and that anyone can do it if only he can put what comes to him into words. As to that, I'm sure you know as well as I do, my dear friend, that history is not one of those things that can be put in hand without effort and can be put together lazily, but is something which needs, if anything does in literature, a great deal of thought

[1] Homer, *Od.* xii, 198, describing the whirlpool of Charybdis.

[2] παραινέσεως οἱ πολλοὶ δεῖν οἴονται σφίσιν β: παραινέσοι πολλοὶ δεῖνοι ὄντες φησὶν (σφίσιν E) γ.

Θουκυδίδης φησίν, ἐς ἀεὶ κτῆμα συντιθείη. οἶδα μὲν οὖν οὐ πάνυ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψων, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἐπαχθὴς δόξων, καὶ μάλιστα ὁπόσοις ἀποτετέλεσται ἤδη καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ δέδεικται ἡ ἱστορία. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπῄνηται ὑπὸ τῶν τότε ἀκροασαμένων, μανία ἂν εἴη ἡ[1] ἐλπίς, ὡς οἱ τοιοῦτοι μεταποιήσουσιν ἢ μετεγγράψουσί τι τῶν ἅπαξ κεκυρωμένων καὶ ὥσπερ ἐς τὰς βασιλείους αὐλὰς ἀποκειμένων. ὅμως δὲ οὐ χεῖρον καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους εἰρῆσθαι, ἵν', εἴ ποτε πόλεμος ἄλλος συσταίη, ἢ Κελτοῖς πρὸς Γέτας ἢ Ἰνδοῖς πρὸς Βακτρίους (οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἡμᾶς γε τολμήσειεν ἄν τις, ἁπάντων ἤδη κεχειρωμένων) ἔχωσιν ἄμεινον συντιθέναι τὸν κανόνα τοῦτον προσάγοντες, ἤνπερ γε δόξῃ αὐτοῖς ὀρθὸς εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτοὶ μὲν καὶ τότε τῷ αὐτῷ πήχει ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν μετρούντων τὸ πρᾶγμα. ὁ ἰατρὸς δὲ οὐ πάνυ ἀνιάσεται, ἢν πάντες Ἀβδηρῖται ἑκόντες Ἀνδρομέδαν τραγῳδῶσι.

6 Διττοῦ δὲ ὄντος τοῦ τῆς συμβουλῆς ἔργου, τὰ μὲν γὰρ αἱρεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ φεύγειν διδάσκει, φέρε πρῶτα εἴπωμεν ἅτινα φευκτέον τῷ ἱστορίαν συγγράφοντι καὶ ὧν μάλιστα καθαρευτέον, ἔπειτα οἷς χρώμενος οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ ἐπ' εὐθὺ ἀγούσης—ἀρχήν τε οἵαν αὐτῷ ἀρκτέον καὶ τάξιν ἥντινα τοῖς ἔργοις ἐφαρμοστέον καὶ μέτρον ἑκάστου καὶ ἃ σιωπητέον καὶ οἷς ἐνδιατριπτέον καὶ ὅσα παραδραμεῖν ἄμεινον καὶ ὅπως ἑρμηνεῦσαι αὐτὰ καὶ συναρμόσαι.

Ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὕστερον. νῦν δὲ τὰς

[1] μανία ἂν εἴη ἡ Fritzsche: μανία καὶ ἐλπίς Γ: μ' εἴ γε ἐλπίς N.

if it is to be what Thucydides calls " a possession for evermore." Now I know that I shall not convert very many: some indeed will think me a great nuisance, particularly anyone whose history is already finished and has already been displayed in public. And if in addition he was applauded by his audience it would be madness to expect his sort to remodel or rewrite any part of what has once been ratified and lodged, as it were, in the royal palace. Nevertheless it is as well to address my remarks to them also so that if ever another war comes along, whether Celts against Getans or Indians against Bactrians (no one would dare to fight us—we've beaten everybody already), they may write better by applying this yard-stick if they think it accurate; if they don't, then they must use the same rule to do their measuring as now. The doctor will not be greatly annoyed if every man of Abdera [1] plays the " Andromeda " and is happy to do it.

Advice works in two ways: it teaches us to choose this and avoid that. So first let us say what the writer of history has to avoid, from what contaminations he must in particular be free; then what means he must use in order not to lose the right road that carries him straight ahead—I mean how to begin, how to arrange his material, the proper proportions for each part, what to leave out, what to develop, what it is better to handle cursorily, and how to put the facts into words and fit them together. These and kindred matters will come later. But

[1] The Abderites were proverbially simpletons.

κακίας ἤδη εἴπωμεν, ὁπόσαι τοῖς φαύλως συγγράφουσιν παρακολουθοῦσιν. ἃ μὲν οὖν κοινὰ πάντων λόγων ἐστὶν ἁμαρτήματα ἔν τε φωνῇ καὶ ἁρμονίᾳ καὶ διανοίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀτεχνίᾳ, μακρόν τε ἂν εἴη ἐπελθεῖν καὶ τῆς παρούσης ὑποθέσεως
7 *οὐκ ἴδιον.*[1] *ἃ δ' ἐν ἱστορίᾳ διαμαρτάνουσι, τὰ τοιαῦτα ἂν εὕροις ἐπιτηρῶν, οἷα κἀμοὶ πολλάκις ἀκροωμένῳ ἔδοξεν, καὶ μάλιστα ἢν ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς ἀναπετάσῃς τὰ ὦτα. οὐκ ἄκαιρον δὲ μεταξὺ καὶ ἀπομνημονεῦσαι ἔνια παραδείγματος ἕνεκα τῶν ἤδη οὕτως συγγεγραμμένων.*

Καὶ πρῶτόν γε ἐκεῖνο ἡλίκον ἁμαρτάνουσιν ἐπισκοπήσωμεν· ἀμελήσαντες γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν τοῦ ἱστορεῖν τὰ γεγενημένα τοῖς ἐπαίνοις ἀρχόντων καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐνδιατρίβουσιν τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους ἐς ὕψος αἴροντες[2] *τοὺς πολεμίους δὲ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου καταρρίπτοντες ἀγνοοῦντες ὡς οὐ στενῷ τῷ ἰσθμῷ διώρισται καὶ διατετείχισται ἡ ἱστορία πρὸς τὸ ἐγκώμιον, ἀλλά τι μέγα τεῖχος ἐν μέσῳ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν μουσικῶν δὴ τοῦτο, δὶς διὰ πασῶν ἐστι πρὸς ἄλληλα—εἴ γε τῷ μὲν ἐγκωμιάζοντι μόνου ἑνὸς μέλει, ὁπωσοῦν ἐπαινέσαι καὶ εὐφρᾶναι τὸν ἐπαινούμενον, καὶ εἰ ψευσαμένῳ ὑπάρχει τυχεῖν τοῦ τέλους, ὀλίγον ἂν φροντίσειεν. ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἄν τι ψεῦδος ἐμπεσὸν ἡ ἱστορία, οὐδὲ ἀκαριαῖον*[3] *ἀνάσχοιτο, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀρτηρίαν ἰατρῶν παῖδές φασι τὴν τραχεῖαν παραδέξασθαι ἄν τι ἐς αὐτὴν καταποθέν.*

8 *Ἔτι ἀγνοεῖν ἐοίκασιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὡς ποιητικῆς*

[1] After *ἴδιον* MSS have *κοινὰ γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἁπάντων λόγων ἐστὶν ἁρματήματα ἔν τε φωνῇ καὶ ἁρμονίᾳ*: Rudolphus secl.

now let us mention the vices which follow on the heels of shoddy historians. To recount the faults of diction, style, meaning and other marks of bad workmanship which are common to all literary genres would take a long time and not be peculiar to our present enquiry. But as to faults in historical writing, you will probably find by observation that they are of the same sort as I have noticed in many attendances at readings, especially if you open your ears to everyone. But it will not be out of place in the meantime to recall by way of example some of the histories already written in this faulty manner.

To begin with, let us look at this for a serious fault: most of them neglect to record the events and spend their time lauding rulers and generals, extolling their own to the skies and slandering the enemy's beyond all reserve; they do not realise that the dividing line and frontier between history and panegyric is not a narrow isthmus but rather a mighty wall; as musicians say, they are two diapasons apart—if indeed the encomiast's sole concern is to praise and please in any way he can the one he praises, and if he can achieve his aim by lying, little will he care! But history cannot admit a lie, even a tiny one, any more than the windpipe, as sons of doctors say, can tolerate anything entering it in swallowing.

Again, such writers seem unaware that history has

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[2] *αἴροντες* N: *φέροντες* other MSS.
[3] *ἀκαριαῖον* E[2]: *ἄκαιρον* other MSS.

μὲν καὶ ποιημάτων ἄλλαι ὑποσχέσεις καὶ κανόνες ἴδιοι, ἱστορίας δὲ ἄλλοι. ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἄκρατος[1] *ἡ ἐλευθερία καὶ νόμος εἷς—τὸ δόξαν τῷ ποιητῇ. ἔνθεος γὰρ καὶ κάτοχος ἐκ Μουσῶν, κἂν ἵππων ὑποπτέρων ἅρμα ζεύξασθαι ἐθέλῃ, κἂν ἐφ' ὕδατος ἄλλους ἢ ἐπ' ἀνθερίκων ἄκρων θευσομένους ἀναβιβάσηται, φθόνος οὐδείς· οὐδὲ ὁπόταν ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ μιᾶς σειρᾶς ἀνασπάσας αἰωρῇ ὁμοῦ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, δεδίασι μὴ ἀπορραγείσης ἐκείνης συντριβῇ τὰ πάντα κατενεχθέντα. ἀλλὰ κἂν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐπαινέσαι θέλωσιν, οὐδεὶς ὁ κωλύσων Διὶ μὲν αὐτὸν ὅμοιον εἶναι τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰ ὄμματα, τὸ στέρνον δὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, τὴν δὲ ζώνην τῷ Ἄρει, καὶ ὅλως σύνθετον ἐκ πάντων θεῶν γενέσθαι δεῖ τὸν Ἀτρέως καὶ Ἀερόπης· οὐ γὰρ ἱκανὸς ὁ Ζεὺς οὐδὲ ὁ Ποσειδῶν οὐδὲ ὁ Ἄρης μόνος ἕκαστος ἀναπληρῶσαι τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ. ἡ ἱστορία δὲ ἤν τινα κολακείαν τοιαύτην προσλάβῃ, τί ἄλλο ἢ πεζή τις ποιητικὴ γίγνεται, τῆς μεγαλοφωνίας μὲν ἐκείνης ἐστερημένη, τὴν λοιπὴν δὲ τερατείαν γυμνὴν τῶν μέτρων καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐπισημοτέραν ἐκφαίνουσα; μέγα τοίνυν—μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπέρμεγα τοῦτο κακόν—εἰ μὴ εἰδείη τις χωρίζειν τὰ ἱστορίας καὶ τὰ ποιητικῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπεισάγοι τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τὰ τῆς ἑτέρας κομμώματα—τὸν μῦθον καὶ τὸ ἐγκώμιον καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτοις ὑπερβολάς—ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἀθλητὴν τῶν καρτερῶν τούτων καὶ κομιδῇ πρινίνων ἁλουργίσι περιβάλοι καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ κόσμῳ τῷ ἑταιρικῷ καὶ φυκίον ἐντρίβοι καὶ ψιμύθιον τῷ*

[1] *ἄκρατος* Solanus : *ἀκρατὴς* MSS.

aims and rules different from poetry and poems. In the case of the latter, liberty is absolute and there is one law—the will of the poet. Inspired and possessed by the Muses as he is, even if he wants to harness winged horses to a chariot, even if he sets others to run over water or the tops of flowers,[1] nobody gets annoyed; not even when their Zeus swings land and sea together suspended from a single cord[2] are they afraid it will break and everything fall and smash. If they want to praise Agamemnon there is no one to prevent his having a head and eyes like Zeus, a chest like Zeus' brother Poseidon, and a belt like Ares,[3] and in general the son of Atreus and Aerope must be a compound of all the gods for not Zeus nor Poseidon nor Ares alone is adequate to give the fullness of his beauty. But if history introduces flattery of that sort, what else does it become but a sort of prose-poetry, lacking indeed the high style of poetry, but showing the rest of poetry's sorcery without metre, and for that reason in a more conspicuous way? So it is a great deal—all too great a fault—not to know how to keep the attributes of history and poetry separate, and to bring poetry's embellishments into history—myth and eulogy and the exaggeration of both: it is as if you were to dress one of our tough, rugged athletes in a purple dress and the rest of the paraphernalia of a pretty light-o'-love and daub and paint his face. Heavens!

[1] Homer, *Il.* xx, 226, 4.
[2] Homer, *Il.* viii, 248, 8.
[3] Homer, *Il.* ii, 478, 4.

προσώπῳ. Ἡράκλεις ὡς καταγέλαστον αὐτὸν ἀπεργάσαιτ'[1] *αἰσχύνας τῷ κόσμῳ ἐκείνῳ.*

9 *Καὶ οὐ τοῦτό φημι, ὡς οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπαινετέον ἐν ἱστορίᾳ ἐνίοτε. ἀλλ' ἐν καιρῷ τῷ προσήκοντι ἐπαινετέον καὶ μέτρον ἐπακτέον τῷ πράγματι, τὸ μὴ ἐπαχθὲς τοῖς ὕστερον ἀναγνωσομένοις αὐτά, καὶ ὅλως πρὸς τὰ ἔπειτα κανονιστέον τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἅπερ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐπιδείξομεν.*

Ὅσοι δὲ οἴονται καλῶς διαιρεῖν εἰς δύο τὴν ἱστορίαν, εἰς τὸ τερπνὸν καὶ χρήσιμον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰσποιοῦσι καὶ τὸ ἐγκώμιον ἐς αὐτὴν ὡς τερπνὸν καὶ εὐφραῖνον τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ὁρᾷς ὅσον τἀληθοῦς ἡμαρτήκασι; πρῶτον μὲν κιβδήλῳ τῇ διαιρέσει χρώμενοι· ἓν γὰρ ἔργον ἱστορίας καὶ τέλος, τὸ χρήσιμον, ὅπερ ἐκ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς μόνου συνάγεται. τὸ τερπνὸν δὲ ἄμεινον μὲν εἰ καὶ αὐτὸ παρακολουθήσειεν—ὥσπερ καὶ κάλλος ἀθλητῇ· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐδὲν κωλύσει ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους γενέσθαι Νικόστρατον τὸν Ἰσιδότου, γεννάδαν ὄντα καὶ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν ἑκατέρων ἀλκιμώτερον, εἰ αὐτὸς μὲν αἴσχιστος ὀφθῆναι εἴη τὴν ὄψιν, Ἀλκαῖος δὲ ὁ καλὸς ὁ Μιλήσιος ἀνταγωνίζοιτο αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐρώμενος, ὥς φασι, τοῦ Νικοστράτου ὤν. καὶ τοίνυν ἡ ἱστορία, εἰ μὲν ἄλλως τὸ τερπνὸν παρεμπορεύσαιτο, πολλοὺς ἂν τοὺς ἐραστὰς[2] *ἐπισπάσαιτο, ἄχρι δ' ἂν καὶ μόνον ἔχῃ τὸ ἴδιον ἐντελές—λέγω δὲ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας δήλωσιν—, ὀλίγον τοῦ κάλλους φροντιεῖ.*

10 *Ἔτι κἀκεῖνο εἰπεῖν ἄξιον ὅτι οὐδὲ τερπνὸν ἐν*

[1] *ἀπεργάσαιτ' ἂν* Fritzsche.
[2] *ἐραστὰς* a few inferior MSS : ***ἐργάτας βγ.***

how ridiculous you would make him look, shaming him with all that decoration.

I do not say that there is no room for occasional praise in history. But it must be given at the proper time and kept within reasonable limits to avoid displeasing future readers. In general such matters should be controlled with a view to what posterity demands; I shall treat of them a little later.

Now some think they can make a satisfactory distinction in history between what gives pleasure and what is useful, and for this reason work eulogy into it as giving pleasure and enjoyment to its readers; but do you see how far they are from the truth? In the first place, the distinction they draw is false: history has one task and one end—what is useful—, and that comes from truth alone. As for what gives pleasure, it is certainly better if it is there incidentally—like good looks in an athlete; but if it isn't there, there is still nothing to prevent Nicostratus, the son of Isidotus, a true blue and a stouter fellow than either of his rivals, from becoming "a successor of Heracles"[1] though he be ugly to look at, while his opponent is Alcaeus of Miletus, the handsome fellow who, they say, was loved by Nicostratus. So it is with history—if she were to make the mistake of dealing in pleasure as well she would attract a host of lovers, but as long as she keeps only what is hers alone in all its fullness—I mean the publication of the truth—she will give little thought to beauty.

Moreover, this too is worth saying: in history

[1] A title or quasi-title awarded for victory in both wrestling and the pancratium on the same day. Nicostratus was the seventh to do this (Pausanias, V, 21, 9–18). The young Quintilian saw him in his old age about A.D. 50 (Quint. II. 8, 14).

αὐτῇ τὸ κομιδῇ μυθῶδες καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐπαίνων μάλιστα πρόσαντες παρ᾽ ἑκάτερον τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ἢν μὴ τὸν συρφετὸν καὶ τὸν πολὺν δῆμον ἐπινοῇς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς δικαστικῶς καὶ νὴ Δία συκοφαντικῶς προσέτι γε ἀκροασομένους, οὓς οὐκ ἄν τι λάθοι παραδραμόν, ὀξύτερον μὲν τοῦ Ἄργου ὁρῶντας καὶ πανταχόθεν τοῦ σώματος, ἀργυραμοιβικῶς δὲ τῶν λεγομένων ἕκαστα ἐξετάζοντας, ὡς τὰ μὲν παρακεκομμένα εὐθὺς ἀπορρίπτειν, παραδέχεσθαι δὲ τὰ δόκιμα καὶ ἔννομα καὶ ἀκριβῆ τὸν τύπον, πρὸς οὓς ἀποβλέποντα χρὴ συγγράφειν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὀλίγον φροντίζειν, κἂν διαρραγῶσιν ἐπαινοῦντες. ἢν δὲ ἀμελήσας ἐκείνων ἡδύνῃς πέρα τοῦ μετρίου τὴν ἱστορίαν μύθοις καὶ ἐπαίνοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ θωπείᾳ, τάχιστ᾽ ἂν ὁμοίαν αὐτὴν ἐξεργάσαιο τῷ ἐν Λυδίᾳ Ἡρακλεῖ. ἑωρακέναι γάρ σέ που εἰκὸς γεγραμμένον, τῇ Ὀμφάλῃ δουλεύοντα, πάνυ ἀλλόκοτον σκευὴν ἐσκευασμένον, ἐκείνην μὲν τὸν λέοντα αὐτοῦ περιβεβλημένην καὶ τὸ ξύλον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχουσαν, ὡς Ἡρακλέα δῆθεν οὖσαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐν κροκωτῷ καὶ πορφυρίδι ἔρια ξαίνοντα καὶ παιόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς Ὀμφάλης τῷ σανδαλίῳ. καὶ τὸ θέαμα αἴσχιστον, ἀφεστῶσα ἡ ἐσθὴς τοῦ σώματος καὶ μὴ προσιζάνουσα καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἀνδρῶδες ἀσχημόνως καταθηλυνόμενον.

11 *Καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἴσως καὶ ταῦτά σου ἐπαινέσονται, οἱ ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ὧν σὺ καταφρονεῖς μάλα ἡδὺ καὶ ἐς κόρον γελάσονται, ὁρῶντες τὸ ἀσύμφυλον καὶ ἀνάρμοστον καὶ δυσκόλλητον τοῦ πράγματος. ἑκάστου γὰρ δὴ ἴδιόν τι καλόν ἐστιν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐναλλάξειας, ἀκαλλὲς τὸ αὐτὸ παρὰ τὴν χρῆσιν γίγνεται. ἐῶ λέγειν ὅτι οἱ ἔπαινοι ἑνὶ μὲν ἴσως*

complete fiction and praise that is heavily biased on one side does not even give pleasure to an audience, if you leave out the common rabble and take note of those who will listen in the spirit of judges and indeed of fault-finders as well. Nothing will get past their scrutiny: their eyes are keener than Argus's and all over their body; they test each expression like a money-changer, rejecting at once what is false but accepting current coin that is legal tender and correctly minted. These are the people to keep in mind when you write history; do not give the slightest thought to the rest even if they burst themselves with applauding. But if you neglect them and sweeten your history beyond reason with stories and eulogies and the other kinds of flattery, you will make it like Heracles in Lydia. You have probably seen pictures of him as slave to Omphale, dressed in a most outlandish way: Omphale is wearing his lion's skin and carrying his club in her hand, as if she were Heracles for certain, while he has on a saffron and purple gown and is carding wool and getting rapped with Omphale's sandal. It's a shocking spectacle: the clothing hangs off his body and is ill-fitting, and his divine masculinity is disgracefully feminised.

The majority will possibly applaud you for this, but those few whom you despise will laugh delightedly till they are sated when they see the incongruity, lack of proportion, and loose structure of the work, for each part has its own peculiar beauty and if you alter that you make it ugly and futile. I need not say that

τερπνοί, τῷ ἐπαινουμένῳ, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐπαχθεῖς, καὶ μάλιστα ἢν ὑπερφυεῖς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἔχωσιν, οἵους αὐτοὺς οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπεργάζονται, τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἐπαινουμένων θηρώμενοι καὶ ἐνδιατρίβοντες ἄχρι τοῦ πᾶσι προφανῆ τὴν κολακείαν ἐξεργάσασθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ κατὰ τέχνην αὐτὸ δρᾶν ἴσασιν οὐδ' ἐπισκιάζουσι τὴν θωπείαν, ἀλλ' ἐμπεσόντες ἀθρόα πάντα καὶ ἀπίθανα καὶ γυμνὰ
12 *διεξίασιν. Ὥστ' οὐδὲ τυγχάνουσιν οὗ μάλιστα ἐφίενται· οἱ γὰρ ἐπαινούμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν μισοῦσι μᾶλλον καὶ ἀποστρέφονται ὡς κόλακας, εὖ ποιοῦντες, καὶ μάλιστα ἢν ἀνδρώδεις τὰς γνώμας ὦσιν.*

Ὥσπερ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀριστοβούλου μονομαχίαν γράψαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Πώρου,[1] *καὶ ἀναγνόντος αὐτῷ τοῦτο μάλιστα τὸ χωρίον τῆς γραφῆς—ᾤετο γὰρ χαριεῖσθαι τὰ μέγιστα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπιψευδόμενος ἀριστείας τινὰς αὐτῷ καὶ ἀναπλάττων ἔργα μείζω τῆς ἀληθείας—λαβὼν τὸ βιβλίον—πλέοντες δὲ ἐτύγχανον ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ—ἔρριψεν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπειπών,* Καὶ *σὲ δὲ οὕτως ἐχρῆν, ὦ Ἀριστόβουλε, τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μονομαχοῦντα καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἑνὶ ἀκοντίῳ φονεύοντα. καὶ ἔμελλέ γε οὕτως ἀγανακτήσειν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅς γε οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος τόλμαν ἠνέσχετο, ὑποσχομένου τὸν Ἄθων εἰκόνα ποιήσειν αὐτοῦ καὶ μετακοσμήσειν τὸ ὄρος ἐς ὁμοιότητα τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ κόλακα εὐθὺς ἐπιγνοὺς τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐκέτ' οὐδ' ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως ἐχρῆτο.*

[1] Madvig added Ἀλέξανδρος: *ὥσπερ* Ἀριστοβούλου *μ. γράψαντος* N: *ὠ.* Ἀριστόβουλος *μ. γράψας* $E^2\Omega$: *ὥσπερ . . . γράψαντος* om. ΓE^1.

eulogies may be pleasing to one man, him who is praised, and annoying to others, especially if they contain monstrous overstatements, the kind that most people make when they seek favour from those who are praised, persisting until they have made their flattery obvious to everyone. They do not know how to do it with any skill nor do they cover up their obsequiousness; no, they rush at it laying it all on thick, so implausible and so naïve. So they do not get what they want most: those they praise hate them the more and turn their backs on them as toadies, and rightly so, especially if they are manly in spirit.

That is what happened to Aristobulus when he wrote of the single combat between Alexander and Porus; he read this particular passage in his work to Alexander thinking to give great pleasure to the King by ascribing falsely to him certain deeds of valour and inventing achievements too great to be true. They happened to be sailing on the River Hydaspes at the time, and Alexander took the book and threw it straight into the water with the remark: "You deserve the same treatment, Aristobulus, for fighting single-handed duels for my sake like that and killing elephants with one throw of the javelin." Indeed it was certain that Alexander would be angry at such a thing—he had not put up with the effrontery of the engineer who had promised to fashion Athos into his portrait and shape the mountain to the King's likeness. Alexander at once realised that the man was a flatterer and had no longer employed him.

13 Ποῦ τοίνυν τὸ τερπνὸν ἐν τούτοις, ἐκτὸς εἰ μή τις κομιδῇ ἀνόητος εἴη ὡς χαίρειν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπαινούμενος ὧν παρὰ πόδας οἱ ἔλεγχοι; ὥσπερ οἱ ἄμορφοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μάλιστά γε τὰ γύναια τοῖς γραφεῦσι παρακελευόμενα ὡς καλλίστας αὐτὰς γράφειν. οἴονται γὰρ ἄμεινον ἕξειν τὴν ὄψιν, ἢν ὁ γραφεὺς αὐταῖς ἐρύθημά τε πλεῖον ἐπανθίσῃ καὶ τὸ λευκὸν ἐγκαταμίξῃ πολὺ τῷ φαρμάκῳ.

Τοιοῦτοι τῶν συγγραφόντων οἱ πολλοί εἰσι τὸ τήμερον καὶ τὸ ἴδιον καὶ τὸ χρειῶδες ὅ τι ἂν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐλπίσωσι θεραπεύοντες, οὓς μισεῖσθαι καλῶς εἶχεν, ἐς μὲν τὸ παρὸν κόλακας προδήλους καὶ ἀτέχνους ὄντας, ἐς τοὐπιὸν δὲ ὕποπτον ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τὴν ὅλην πραγματείαν ἀποφαίνοντας. εἰ δέ τις πάντως τὸ τερπνὸν ἡγεῖται καταμεμῖχθαι δεῖν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ πάσῃ, ἄλλα ἃ σὺν ἀληθείᾳ τερπνά ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις κάλλεσι τοῦ λόγου, ὧν ἀμελήσαντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ μηδὲν προσήκοντα ἐπεισκυκλοῦσιν.

14 Ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὖν καὶ διηγήσομαι ὁπόσα μέμνημαι ἔναγχος ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ συγγραφέων τινῶν, καὶ νὴ Δία ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ πρῴην ἀκούσας τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον πόλεμον διηγουμένων. καὶ πρὸς Χαρίτων μηδεὶς ἀπιστήσῃ τοῖς λεχθησομένοις· ὅτι γὰρ ἀληθῆ ἐστιν κἂν ἐπωμοσάμην, εἰ ἀστεῖον ἦν ὅρκον ἐντιθέναι συγγράμματι. εἷς μέν τις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Μουσῶν εὐθὺς ἤρξατο παρακαλῶν τὰς θεὰς συνεφάψασθαι τοῦ συγγράμματος. ὁρᾷς ὡς ἐμμελὴς ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ περὶ πόδα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ [1] καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ εἴδει τῶν λόγων πρέπουσα; εἶτα μικρὸν ὑποβὰς Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν τὸν ἡμέτερον ἄρχοντα εἴκαζε, Θερσίτῃ δὲ τὸν

Where then is the pleasure in this, unless a man is so utterly stupid as to enjoy praise that can be proved groundless there and then? Take the case of the ugly men and women, particularly women, who ask the painter to make them as beautiful as possible, thinking they will be better looking if the painter bedecks them with a richer red and mixes plenty of white into his pigment.

Most of our historians today are like that, courting private whim and the profit they expect from their history. One might well loathe them as blatant flatterers of no ability in their own time, while to posterity they make the whole business of written history suspect by their exaggerations. If anyone supposes that giving pleasure has to be mixed into all historical writing, there are other refinements of style that combine pleasure with truth. The run of historians neglect these and pile up tasteless incongruities one upon the other.

Well then, I'll tell you what I remember hearing some historians say recently in Ionia, and indeed only the other day in Achaïa, when they were describing this very war. And in the name of the Graces let no one disbelieve what I am going to say. I would swear to its veracity—if it were in good taste to attach an affidavit to an essay. One of them began straightway with the Muses, summoning the goddesses to help him with his work. You see how appropriate this opening was, how apt for historical writing, how suited to this type of book! Then a little further on he compared our general to Achilles, and the Persian King to Thersites, not understand-

[1] τῇ ἱστορίᾳ Aldinus : ἡ ἱστορία MSS.

τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέα, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀμείνων ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ Ἕκτορα μᾶλλον ἢ Θερσίτην καθῄρει, καὶ εἰ πρόσθε μὲν ἔφευγεν ἐσθλός τις,

ἐδίωκε δέ μιν μέγ᾽ ἀμείνων.

εἶτ᾽ ἐπῆγεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τι ἐγκώμιον, καὶ ὡς ἄξιος εἴη συγγράψαι τὰς πράξεις οὕτω λαμπρὰς οὔσας. ἤδη δὲ κατιὼν ἐπῄνει καὶ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν Μίλητον, προστιθεὶς ὡς ἄμεινον ποιοῖ τοῦτο τοῦ Ὁμήρου μηδὲν μνησθέντος τῆς πατρίδος. εἶτ᾽ ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ φροιμίου ὑπισχνεῖτο διαρρήδην καὶ σαφῶς, ἐπὶ μεῖζον μὲν αἴρειν τὰ ἡμέτερα, τοὺς βαρβάρους δὲ καταπολεμήσειν καὶ αὐτός, ὡς ἂν δύνηται. καὶ ἤρξατό γε τῆς ἱστορίας οὕτως, αἴτια ἅμα τῆς τοῦ πολέμου ἀρχῆς διεξιών· "Ὁ γὰρ μιαρώτατος καὶ κάκιστα ἀπολούμενος Οὐολόγεσσος ἤρξατο πολεμεῖν δι᾽ αἰτίαν τοιάνδε."

15 *Οὗτος μὲν τοιαῦτα. ἕτερος δὲ Θουκυδίδου ζηλωτὴς ἄκρος, οἷος εὖ μάλα τῷ ἀρχετύπῳ εἰκασμένος, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἐκεῖνος σὺν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ὀνόματι ἤρξατο, χαριεστάτην ἀρχῶν ἁπασῶν καὶ θύμου τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ ἀποπνέουσαν. ὅρα γάρ· "Κρεπέρῃος Καλπουρνιανὸς*[1] *Πομπηϊουπολίτης συνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Παρθυαίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων, ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς συνισταμένου." ὥστε μετά γε τοιαύτην ἀρχὴν τί ἄν σοι τὰ λοιπὰ λέγοιμι—ὁποῖα ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ ἐδημηγόρησεν τὸν Κερκυραῖον αὐτὸν ῥήτορα παραστησάμενος, ἢ οἷον Νισιβηνοῖς λοιμὸν*

[1] *Κρεπέρῃος Καλπουρνιανὸς* edd.: *Κρεπέρηος Καλπουριανὸς* Γ *Κρεπέριος Καρπουριανὸς* N.

ing that Achilles would have been a better name for him if he was killing a Hector rather than a Thersites and if a hero fled before,

> " and one far greater pursued him." [1]

Then he brought in a bit of praise on his own account, telling how worthy he was to record such outstanding deeds. Now he was on his way home and praising his native Miletus, adding that this was an improvement on Homer, who had not mentioned his native land at all. Then at the end of this introduction he made a clear and explicit promise to glorify the achievements of our side and beat down the barbarians on his own with all his might. Then he began his narrative by relating the causes of the war in this way: "That cursed scoundrel Vologesus began the war for the following reason."

So much for him. Another, a keen emulator of Thucydides, modelling himself closely on his original, like him began with his own name—the most graceful of all beginnings, redolent of Attic thyme. Listen: " Crepereius Calpurnianus of Pompeiopolis wrote the history of the war between the Parthians and the Romans beginning at its very outset." [2] After a beginning like that why should I tell you the rest—the sort of speech he made in Armenia (he brought in the Corcyrean orator [3] in person for that) or what sort of plague he brought down on the people of Nisibis who declined to take

[1] Homer, *Il.* xxii, 158. The quotation is not quite accurate.

[2] An adaptation of the opening sentence of Thucydides' History.

[3] I.e., he took the speech from Thucydides I, 32, where the Corcyrean delegation addresses the Athenian assembly.

τοῖς μὴ τὰ Ῥωμαίων αἱρουμένοις ἐπήγαγεν παρὰ Θουκυδίδου χρησάμενος ὅλον ἄρδην πλὴν μόνου τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ καὶ τῶν τειχῶν τῶν μακρῶν, ἐν οἷς οἱ τότε λοιμώξαντες ᾤκησαν; τὰ δ' ἄλλα καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας ἤρξατο, ὡς τότε,[1] καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον κατέβη καὶ ἐς τὴν βασιλέως γῆν τὴν πολλήν, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ γε ἔμεινεν εὖ ποιῶν. ἐγὼ γοῦν θάπτοντα ἔτι αὐτὸν καταλιπὼν τοὺς ἀθλίους Ἀθηναίους ἐν Νισίβι ἀπῆλθον ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς καὶ ὅσα ἀπελθόντος ἐρεῖν ἔμελλεν. καὶ γὰρ αὖ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιεικῶς πολὺ νῦν ἐστι, τὸ οἴεσθαι τοῦτ' εἶναι τοῖς Θουκυδίδου ἐοικότα λέγειν, εἰ ὀλίγον ἐντρέψας τὰ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου λέγοι τις.[2] νὴ Δία κἀκεῖνο ὀλίγου δεῖν παρέλιπον· ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς οὗτος συγγραφεὺς πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν μηχανημάτων ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτὰ ὀνομάζουσιν οὕτως ἀνέγραψεν, καὶ τάφρον ὡς ἐκεῖνοι καὶ γέφυραν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. καί μοι ἐννόησον ἡλίκον τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ ὡς Θουκυδίδῃ πρέπον, μεταξὺ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων τὰ Ἰταλιωτικὰ ταῦτα ἐγκεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ τὴν πορφύραν ἐπικοσμοῦντα καὶ ἐμπρέποντα καὶ πάντως συνᾴδοντα.

16 *Ἄλλος δέ τις αὐτῶν[3] ὑπόμνημα τῶν γεγονότων γυμνὸν συναγαγὼν ἐν γραφῇ κομιδῇ πεζὸν καὶ χαμαιπετές, οἷον καὶ στρατιώτης ἂν τις τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ὑπογραφόμενος συνέθηκεν ἢ τέκτων ἢ κάπηλός τις συμπερινοστῶν τῇ στρατιᾷ. πλὴν*

[1] *ὡς τότε* Fritzsche : *ὥστε* MSS.

[2] After *τις*, MSS have *μικρὰ ῥάκια ὅπως καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν φαίης οὐ δι' αὐτήν*: secl. Dindorf. L. A. Post suggests *ἐντρίψας* (for *ἐντρέψας*) . . . *οὐδὲν Ἀττικὸν* (or *οὐ δι' Ἀττικῆς*) for *οὐ δι' αὐτήν*.

the Roman side (he lifted that from Thucydides in its entirety except just for the Pelasgicum and the Long Walls where those who had at that time caught the plague had settled.[1])? Then again it even "began in Ethiopia," as in Thucydides, then "descended into Egypt" and "the vast territory of the great King," where it stayed—and a good thing too! For my part I left him still burying his wretched Athenians at Nisibis and went away knowing just what he was going to say after I had gone. But this is quite a fashion just now, to suppose that you're following Thucydides' style if you alter what he says a little and write that. Oh, here is a point I almost left out: this same historian has called many arms and war-engines by their Latin names, as well as the words for ditch, bridge and so on. Imagine please the high quality of his history and how it suits Thucydides to have these Italic words mixed up with the Attic, adding a distinctive touch of colour like the toga's purple stripe—a perfect match!

Another of them has compiled a bare record of the events and set it down on paper, completely prosaic and ordinary, such as a soldier or artisan or pedlar following the army might have put together as a diary

[1] Thuc. II, 47–54. References to Athenian topography were omitted.

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[3] αὐτῶν edd. : αὐτῶ N: αὐτῷ Γ.

ἀλλὰ μετριώτερός γε ὁ ἰδιώτης οὗτος ἦν, αὐτὸς μὲν αὐτίκα δῆλος ὢν οἷος ἦν, ἄλλῳ δέ τινι χαρίεντι καὶ δυνησομένῳ ἱστορίαν μεταχειρίσασθαι προπεπονηκώς. τοῦτο μόνον ᾐτιασάμην αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὕτως ἐπέγραψε τὰ βιβλία τραγικώτερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν τῶν συγγραμμάτων τύχην—" Καλλιμόρφου ἰατροῦ τῆς τῶν κοντοφόρων ἕκτης ἱστοριῶν Παρθικῶν," *καὶ ὑπεγέγραπτο ἑκάστῃ ὁ ἀριθμός. καὶ νὴ* Δία *καὶ τὸ προοίμιον ὑπέρψυχρον ἐποίησεν οὕτως συναγαγών· οἰκεῖον εἶναι ἰατρῷ ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν, εἴ γε ὁ* Ἀσκληπιὸς *μὲν* Ἀπόλλωνος *υἱός,* Ἀπόλλων *δὲ* Μουσηγέτης *καὶ πάσης παιδείας ἄρχων· καὶ ὅτι ἀρξάμενος ἐν τῇ* Ἰάδι *γράφειν οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι δόξαν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν μετῆλθεν, ἰητρικὴν* [1] *μὲν λέγων καὶ πείρην καὶ ὁκόσα καὶ νοῦσοι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὁμοδίαιτα τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα οἷα ἐκ τριόδου.*[2]

17 Εἰ *δέ με δεῖ* [3] *καὶ σοφοῦ ἀνδρὸς μνησθῆναι, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἐν ἀφανεῖ κείσθω, τὴν γνώμην δὲ ἐρῶ καὶ τὰ πρῴην ἐν* Κορίνθῳ *συγγράμματα, κρείττω πάσης ἐλπίδος. ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ προοιμίου περιόδῳ συνηρώτησε τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας λόγον πάνσοφον δεῖξαι σπεύδων, ὡς μόνῳ ἂν τῷ σοφῷ πρέποι ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν. εἶτα μετὰ μικρὸν ἄλλος συλλογισμός, εἶτα ἄλλος· καὶ ὅλως ἐν ἅπαντι σχήματι συνηρώτητο αὐτῷ τὸ προοίμιον. τὸ τῆς κολακείας ἐς κόρον, καὶ τὰ ἐγκώμια φορτικὰ καὶ κομιδῇ βωμολοχικά, οὐκ ἀσυλλόγιστα μέντοι, ἀλλὰ συνηρωτημένα κἀκεῖνα.*

[1] *ἰητρικὴν* Solanus : *ἰατρικὴν* Γ: *ἰατρείην* N.
[2] *τριόδου β: περιόδου γ.*

of daily events. However, this amateur was not so bad—it was quite obvious at the beginning what he was, and his work has cleared the ground for some future historian of taste and ability. The only fault I found was this: his headings were too pompous for the place his books can hold—"Callimorphus, surgeon of the Sixth Lancers, History of the Parthian War, Book so-and-so"—there followed the number of each book. Another thing, his preface was far too frigid: he put it like this: it was proper for a surgeon to write history, since Asclepius was the son of Apollo and Apollo was leader of the Muses and lord of all culture; also because, after beginning in Ionic, for some reason I can't fathom he suddenly changed to the vernacular, using indeed the Ionic forms of "medicine," "attempt," "how many," "diseases," but taking the rest from the language of everyday, most of it street-corner talk.

If I have to mention a philosopher let his name remain unknown. I shall speak only of his general views and his recent writings in Corinth. They went beyond all expectation. Right at the beginning in the first sentence of his introduction he used dialectic on his readers in his eagerness to show off a very clever argument. This was to the effect that only the philosopher was fit to write history. Then a little later came one syllogism, then another. In short his introduction was sheer dialectic in every figure of the syllogism. His flattery was nauseating: his eulogies were vulgar and downright low; even they were syllogistic and dialectical in form. I certainly thought it in poor taste and not at all

[3] με δεῖ NE: μέλει Γ.

4. "philosophical" history

καὶ μὴν κἀκεῖνο φορτικὸν ἔδοξέν μοι καὶ ἥκιστα σοφῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ πώγωνι πολιῷ καὶ βαθεῖ πρέπον, τὸ ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐξαίρετον τοῦτο ἕξει ὁ ἡμέτερος ἄρχων, οὗ γε τὰς πράξεις καὶ φιλόσοφοι ἤδη συγγράφειν ἀξιοῦσιν. τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον, εἴπερ ἄρα, ἡμῖν ἔδει καταλιπεῖν λογίζεσθαι ἢ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν.

18 Καὶ *μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνου ὅσιον ἀμνημονῆσαι, ὃς τοιάνδε ἀρχὴν ἤρξατο·* "Ἔρχομαι *ἐρέων περὶ* Ῥωμαίων *καὶ* Περσέων," *καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον·* "*ἔδεε γὰρ* Πέρσῃσι *γενέσθαι κακῶς,*" *καὶ πάλιν·* "*ἦν* Ὀσρόης, *τὸν οἱ* Ἕλληνες Ὀξυρόην *ὀνυμέουσιν,*" *καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα. ὁρᾷς; ὅμοιος αὐτὸς ἐκείνῳ παρ' ὅσον ὁ μὲν* Θουκυδίδῃ, *οὗτος δὲ* Ἡροδότῳ *εὖ μάλα ἐῴκει.*

19 Ἄλλος *τις ἀοίδιμος ἐπὶ λόγων δυνάμει* Θουκυδίδῃ *καὶ αὐτὸς ὅμοιος ἢ ὀλίγῳ ἀμείνων αὐτοῦ, πάσας πόλεις καὶ πάντα ὄρη καὶ πεδία καὶ ποταμοὺς ἑρμηνεύσας πρὸς τὸ σαφέστατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον, ὡς ᾤετο. τὸ δὲ ἐς ἐχθρῶν κεφαλὰς ὁ ἀλεξίκακος τρέψειε· τοσαύτη ψυχρότης ἐνῆν ὑπὲρ τὴν* Κασπιακὴν *χιόνα καὶ τὸν κρύσταλλον τὸν* Κελτικόν. *ἡ γοῦν ἀσπὶς ἡ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὅλῳ βιβλίῳ μόγις ἐξηρμηνεύθη αὐτῷ, καὶ* Γοργὼν *ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῆς ἐκ κυανοῦ καὶ λευκοῦ καὶ μέλανος καὶ ζώνη ἰριοειδὴς καὶ δράκοντες ἑλικηδὸν καὶ βοστρυχηδόν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ* Οὐολογέσσου *ἀναξυρὶς ἢ ὁ χαλινὸς τοῦ ἵππου,* Ἡράκλεις, *ὅσαι μυριάδες ἐπῶν ἕκαστον τούτων, καὶ οἷα ἦν ἡ* Ὀσρόου *κόμη, διανέοντος τὸν* Τίγρητα, *καὶ ἐς οἷον ἄντρον κατέφυγε, κιττοῦ καὶ μυρρίνης καὶ δάφνης ἐς ταὐτὸ συμπεφυκότων καὶ*

becoming a philosopher and a long, grey beard to say, as he did in his introduction, that it will be a special distinction of our commander that even philosophers think fit to recount his deeds. Such a comment he should have left for us, if anybody, to think of and not made it himself.

Again it would not be right to omit the one who began as follows: "I come to speak of Romans and Persians," and a little later said: "The Persians were foredoomed to come to grief," and again: "It was Osroes, whom the Greeks call Oxyrhoes" and many more things of this sort, all in Ionic. Do you see? He was like Crepereius, only Crepereius was a wonderful copy of Thucydides, this man of Herodotus.

Another, renowned for his powerful eloquence, was also like Thucydides or a little better. He described all cities, mountains, plains, and rivers in the most detailed and striking way, as he thought. May the Averter of Evil turn his detail and vigour against the enemy, so much frigidity was there in it, worse than Caspian snow and Celtic ice! For example, he only just got through his description of the emperor's shield in a whole book, with its Gorgon on the boss, her eyes of blue, white, and black, her girdle like the rainbow, the ringlets and curls of her serpents. The trousers of Vologesus and the bit of his horse—Heavens! how many thousands of words on each, and his descriptions of Osroes' hair as he swam across the Tigris, and the cave where he fled for safety, with its jungle of ivy, myrrh, and laurel making it completely

σύσκιον ἀκριβῶς ποιούντων αὐτό. σκόπει ὡς ἀναγκαῖα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ταῦτα, καὶ ὧν ἄνευ οὐκ ἂν ᾔδειμέν [1] τι τῶν ἐκεῖ πραχθέντων.

20 Ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀσθενείας τῆς ἐν τοῖς χρησίμοις ἢ ἀγνοίας τῶν λεκτέων ἐπὶ τὰς τοιαύτας τῶν χωρίων καὶ ἄντρων ἐκφράσεις τρέπονται, καὶ ὁπόταν ἐς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράγματα ἐμπέσωσιν ἐοίκασιν οἰκέτῃ νεοπλούτῳ ἄρτι κληρονομήσαντι τοῦ δεσπότου, ὃς οὔτε τὴν ἐσθῆτα οἶδεν ὡς χρὴ περιβαλέσθαι οὔτε δειπνῆσαι κατὰ νόμον, ἀλλ' ἐμπηδήσας, πολλάκις ὀρνίθων καὶ συείων καὶ λαγῴων προκειμένων, ὑπερεμπίπλαται ἔτνους τινὸς ἢ ταρίχους ἔστ' ἂν διαρραγῇ ἐσθίων. οὗτος δ' οὖν ὃν προεῖπον καὶ τραύματα συνέγραψεν πάνυ ἀπίθανα καὶ θανάτους ἀλλοκότους, ὡς εἰς δάκτυλον τοῦ ποδὸς τὸν μέγαν τρωθείς τις αὐτίκα ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ὡς ἐμβοήσαντος μόνον Πρίσκου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι τῶν πολεμίων ἐξέθανον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀριθμῷ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ παρὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπιστολαῖς ἐψεύσατο· ἐπὶ γὰρ Εὐρώπῳ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ἀποθανεῖν μυριάδας ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ἓξ πρὸς τοῖς διακοσίοις, Ῥωμαίων δὲ μόνους δύο καὶ τραυματίας γενέσθαι ἐννέα. ταῦτα οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τις ἂν εὖ φρονῶν ἀνάσχοιτο.

21 Καὶ μὴν κἀκεῖνο λεκτέον οὐ μικρὸν ὄν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ κομιδῇ Ἀττικὸς εἶναι καὶ ἀποκεκαθάρθαι τὴν φωνὴν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον ἠξίωσεν οὗτος καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα μεταποιῆσαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ μεταγράψαι ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὡς Κρόνιον μὲν Σατουρνῖνον λέγειν, Φρόντιν δὲ τὸν Φρόντωνα, Τιτάνιον δὲ τὸν Τιτιανὸν καὶ ἄλλα πολλῷ γελοιότερα. ἔτι ὁ αὐτὸς

dark. Think how essential this is to history: without it we should not have known what happened there!

Because of weakness in matters of importance or ignorance of what to say, they turn to this sort of description of scenery and caves; when they chance on a host of great doings they are like a newly-rich servant who has just inherited his master's fortune: he knows neither how to dress nor how to take his meal in the proper way: no, he plunges in, when for instance birds and pork and hares are put before him, stuffing himself with a soup or kippers until he bursts from eating. Well, this man I mentioned described incredible wounds and monstrous deaths, how one man was wounded in the big toe and died on the spot, and how Priscus the general just gave a shout and twenty-seven of the enemy fell dead. And in the number slain he even contradicted the officers' despatches with his false figures: at Europus, he said, the enemy lost 70,236 killed, while the Romans lost just two and had nine wounded. I do not think anyone in his senses would accept that.

There is another not unimportant matter: because he is an out-and-out Atticist and has purified his speech down to the last syllable, he thought fit to change the Latin names and use Greek forms—Kronios for Saturninus, Phrontis for Fronto, Titanios for Titianus, and others much more ridiculous.

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[1] *ὧν ἄνευ οὐκ ἂν ᾔδειμέν* Fritzsche: om. *ἂν* N: *ὡς οὐκ ἄνευ ἤδη μέν* Γ.

οὗτος περὶ τῆς Σευηριανοῦ τελευτῆς ἔγραψεν ὡς οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ἐξηπάτηνται οἰόμενοι ξίφει τεθνάναι αὐτόν, ἀποθάνοι δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ σιτίων ἀποσχόμενος· τοῦτον γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀλυπότατον δόξαι τὸν θάνατον, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι τὸ μὲν πάθος ἐκεῖνο πᾶν τριῶν οἶμαι ἡμερῶν ἐγένετο, ἀπόσιτοι δὲ καὶ ἐς ἑβδόμην διαρκοῦσιν οἱ πολλοί—ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολάβοι τις, ὡς Ὀσρόης [1] *εἱστήκει περιμένων, ἔστ' ἂν Σευηριανὸς λιμῷ ἀπόληται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπῆγε διὰ τῆς ἑβδόμης.*

22 *Τοὺς δὲ καὶ ποιητικοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ὦ καλὲ Φίλων, ἐν ἱστορίᾳ χρωμένους, ποῦ δ' ἄν τις θείη, τοὺς λέγοντας, "ἐλέλιξε μὲν ἡ μηχανή, τὸ τεῖχος δὲ πεσὸν μεγάλως ἐδούπησε," καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ μέρει τῆς καλῆς ἱστορίας, "Ἔδεσσα μὲν δὴ οὕτω τοῖς ὅπλοις περιεσμαραγεῖτο καὶ ὄτοβος ἦν καὶ κόναβος ἅπαντα ἐκεῖνα" καὶ "ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐμερμήριζεν ᾧ τρόπῳ μάλιστα προσαγάγοι πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος." εἶτα μεταξὺ οὕτως εὐτελῆ ὀνόματα καὶ δημοτικὰ καὶ πτωχικὰ πολλὰ παρενεβέβυστο—τό "ἐπέστειλεν ὁ στρατοπεδάρχης τῷ κυρίῳ," καί "οἱ στρατιῶται ἠγόραζον τὰ ἐγχρῄζοντα" καί "ἤδη λελουμένοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐγίγνοντο" καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· ὥστε τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐοικὸς εἶναι τραγῳδῷ τὸν ἕτερον μὲν πόδα ἐπ' ἐμβάτου ὑψηλοῦ ἐπιβεβηκότι, θάτερον δὲ σανδάλῳ ὑποδεδεμένῳ.*

23 *Καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄλλους ἴδοις ἂν τὰ μὲν προοίμια λαμπρὰ καὶ τραγικὰ καὶ εἰς ὑπερβολὴν μακρὰ συγγράφοντας, ὡς ἐλπίσαι θαυμαστὰ ἡλίκα τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα πάντως ἀκούσεσθαι, τὸ σῶμα δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας μικρόν τι καὶ ἀγεννὲς ἐπαγαγόντας*

[1] *Ὀσρόης* N: *Ὀσρόης τις* Γ.

Again, concerning the death of Severianus, this same man wrote that all the others had been deceived in supposing he perished by the sword—he died by fasting because he thought this the most painless way of dying. He was unaware that the whole business only took, say, three days while those who keep away from food generally last a week—unless one assumes that Osroes was standing about waiting for Severianus to die from hunger and for that reason did not attack during the week.

And where, my dear Philo, are we to put those who use poetic words in their history, who say " The siege-engine whirled, the wall fell with a big thud," and again in another part of this fine work, " Edessa thus was girt with the crash of arms and all was clangour and alarum," and " the general mused how best to attack the wall." [1] Then in the middle of this sort of thing he stuffed a lot of words that were cheap, vulgar, and mean—" the prefect sent His Majesty a despatch " and " the soldiers got themselves the necessaries " and " by now they'd had their baths and were hanging about " and so on. It's as if a tragic actor had mounted a high buskin on one foot and had a sandal tied under the other.

Again, you may see others writing introductions that are brilliant, dramatic, and excessively long, so that you expect what follows to be marvellous to hear, but for the body of their history they bring on something so tiny and so undistinguished that it re-

[1] These writers use words with a poetical tradition from Homer, Hesiod and other poets.

ὡς καὶ τοῦτο ἐοικέναι παιδίῳ, εἴ που Ἔρωτα εἶδες παίζοντα, προσωπεῖον Ἡρακλέους πάμμεγα ἢ Τιτᾶνος περικείμενον. εὐθὺς γοῦν οἱ ἀκούσαντες ἐπιφθέγγονται αὐτοῖς τό Ὤδινεν ὄρος.

Χρὴ δὲ οἶμαι μὴ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ὅμοια τὰ πάντα καὶ ὁμόχροα εἶναι καὶ συνᾷδον τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα, ὡς μὴ χρυσοῦν μὲν τὸ κράνος εἴη, θώραξ δὲ πάνυ γελοῖος ἐκ ῥακῶν ποθεν ἢ ἐκ δερμάτων σαπρῶν συγκεκαττυμένος καὶ ἡ ἀσπὶς οἰσυΐνη καὶ χοιρίνη περὶ ταῖς κνήμαις. ἴδοις γὰρ ἂν ἀφθόνους τοιούτους συγγραφέας, τοῦ Ῥοδίων κολοσσοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν νανώδει σώματι ἐπιτιθέντας· ἄλλους αὖ ἔμπαλιν ἀκέφαλα τὰ σώματα εἰσάγοντας—ἀπροοιμίαστα καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων· οἳ καὶ προσεταιρίζονται τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οὕτως ἀρξάμενον, "Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος παῖδες γίγνονται δύο," καὶ ἄλλους τῶν παλαιῶν, οὐκ εἰδότες ὡς δυνάμει τινὰ προοίμιά ἐστι λεληθότα τοὺς πολλούς, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις δείξομεν.

24 Καίτοι ταῦτα πάντα φορητὰ ἔτι, ὅσα ἢ ἑρμηνείας ἢ τῆς ἄλλης διατάξεως ἁμαρτήματά ἐστιν· τὸ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς τόπους αὐτοὺς ψεύδεσθαι οὐ παρασάγγας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ σταθμοὺς ὅλους, τίνι τῶν καλῶν ἔοικεν; εἷς γοῦν οὕτω ῥᾳθύμως συνήγαγε τὰ πράγματα, οὔτε Σύρῳ τινὶ ἐντυχὼν οὔτε τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο τῶν ἐπὶ κουρείῳ [1] τὰ τοιαῦτα μυθολογούντων ἀκούσας, ὥστε περὶ Εὐρώπου λέγων οὕτως ἔφη, "Ἡ δὲ Εὔρωπος κεῖται μὲν ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ σταθμοὺς δύο τοῦ Εὐφρά-

[1] τῶν ἐπὶ κουρείῳ Fritzsche: τῶι ἐπὶ κουρίωι Γ: τῶν ἐπὶ κουρείων N.

sembles a child, some Cupid [1]—you may have seen one playing and putting on a huge mask of Heracles or a Titan. The audience there and then are calling out to them " a mountain was in labour."

In my opinion the right way to do it is not like this: there must be a general uniformity, a unity of colour, and the body must be in proportion with the head, so that when you get a golden helmet the breastplate is not a silly patchwork of rags or rotten hides with a wicker-work shield and pigskin greaves. You can see plenty of writers like that, who put the head of the Colossus of Rhodes on the body of a dwarf. Then again others produce bodies without any heads—works lacking an introduction that begin at once with the narrative; in support they quote Xenophon, where he begins " Darius and Parysatis had two sons," [2] and other old writers, not knowing that there are such things as virtual prefaces [3] unrecognised by most people; we shall demonstrate this elsewhere.

Yet we can put up with all these things as far as they are faults of expression and arrangement of material; but to misplace localities even, not just by parasangs but by whole days' marches, what fineness of style does that resemble? One man, for example, who had never met a Syrian nor even heard as they say " barber-shop gossip " about such things, assembled his facts so carelessly that when speaking of Europus he said: " Europus is situated in Mesopotamia, two days' journey from the Euphrates; it was colonised

[1] Little slave-boys were called " Cupids."
[2] The opening of the *Anabasis*.
[3] I.e., prefaces by function not by form.

του ἀπέχουσα, ἀπῴκισαν δὲ αὐτὴν Ἐδεσσαῖοι.”
καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν
ἐμὴν πατρίδα τὰ Σαμόσατα ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
βιβλίῳ ἀράμενος ὁ γενναῖος αὐτῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ
τείχεσι μετέθηκεν ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, ὡς
περιρρεῖσθαι αὐτὴν ὑπ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ποταμῶν,
ἑκατέρωθεν ἐν χρῷ παραμειβομένων καὶ μονον-
ουχὶ τοῦ τείχους ψαυόντων. τὸ δὲ καὶ γελοῖον εἴ
σοι νῦν, ὦ Φίλων, ἀπολογοίμην ὡς οὐ Παρθυαίων
οὐδὲ Μεσοποταμίτης σοι ἐγώ, οἷ με φέρων ὁ
θαυμαστὸς συγγραφεὺς ἀπῴκισε.

25 Νὴ Δία κἀκεῖνο κομιδῇ πιθανὸν περὶ τοῦ
Σευηριανοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος εἶπεν ἐπομοσάμενος, ἦ
μὴν ἀκοῦσαί τινος τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου διαφυ-
γόντων· οὔτε γὰρ ξίφει ἐθελῆσαι αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν
οὔτε φαρμάκου πιεῖν οὔτε βρόχον ἅψασθαι ἀλλά
τινα θάνατον ἐπινοῆσαι τραγικὸν καὶ τῇ τόλμῃ
ξενίζοντα· τυχεῖν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα παμμεγέθη
ἐκπώματα ὑάλινα τῆς καλλίστης ὑάλου, ἐπεὶ δὲ
πάντως ἀποθανεῖν ἔγνωστο, κατάξαντα τὸν μέγισ-
τον τῶν σκύφων ἑνὶ τῶν θραυσμάτων χρήσασθαι
εἰς τὴν σφαγὴν ἐντεμόντα τῇ ὑάλῳ τὸν λαιμόν.
οὕτως οὐ ξιφίδιον, οὐ λογχάριον εὗρεν ὡς ἀνδρεῖός
26 γε αὐτῷ καὶ ἡρωϊκὸς ὁ θάνατος γένοιτο. Εἶτ᾽
ἐπειδὴ Θουκυδίδης ἐπιτάφιόν τινα εἶπε τοῖς
πρώτοις τοῦ πολέμου ἐκείνου νεκροῖς καὶ αὐτὸς
ἡγήσατο χρῆναι ἐπειπεῖν τῷ Σευηριανῷ. ἅπασι
γὰρ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν οὐδὲν αἴτιον τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ
κακῶν τὸν Θουκυδίδην ἡ ἅμιλλα. θάψας οὖν τὸν
Σευηριανὸν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἀναβιβάζεται ἐπὶ τὸν
τάφον Ἀφράνιόν τινα Σίλωνα ἑκατόνταρχον ἀν-
ταγωνιστὴν Περικλέους ὃς τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα

by men of Edessa."[1] Even this was not enough for him: my own birthplace, Samosata, this fine writer in the same book lifted, acropolis, walls and all, and transplanted to Mesopotamia, so as to surround it by both rivers, which passed close to it on either side and almost touched the walls. How ridiculous, Philo, if I were now to argue a proof with you that I am not a Parthian or from Mesopotamia, where this wonderful historian has taken and transplanted me!

By Zeus, that, too, is a highly plausible story the same fellow told about Severianus, taking his oath that he heard it from a man who had survived this very action: he said that Severianus did not want to die by the sword nor take poison nor hang himself, but thought of a dramatic death, strange and novel in its boldness: he happened to have huge drinking-glasses of the finest crystal, and when he had decided to die at all costs he broke the largest of the bowls and used one of the pieces to kill himself by cutting his throat with the glass. As if there were no dagger, no javelin to be found to bring him a manly and heroic death! Then since Thucydides made a funeral speech over the first to die in that famous war[2] he thought he too ought to make a speech over Severianus. For all of them vie with Thucydides, who was in no way responsible for our troubles in Armenia. So after burying Severianus in magnificent style he makes a centurion, an Afranius Silo, mount the tomb as a rival to Pericles; his rhetoric was so strange and so ex-

[1] Europus was actually situated on the Euphrates itself, on the farther shore from Mesopotamia.

[2] The Peloponnesian War. Thuc. II, 34–36.

ἐπερρητόρευσεν αὐτῷ ὥστε με νὴ τὰς Χάριτας πολλὰ πάνυ δακρῦσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ γέλωτος καὶ μάλιστα ὁπότε ὁ ῥήτωρ ὁ Ἀφράνιος ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ λόγου δακρύων ἅμα σὺν οἰμωγῇ περιπαθεῖ ἐμέμνητο τῶν πολυτελῶν ἐκείνων δείπνων καὶ προπόσεων, εἶτα ἐπέθηκεν Αἰάντειόν τινα τὴν κορωνίδα· σπασάμενος γὰρ τὸ ξίφος, εὐγενῶς πάνυ καὶ ὡς Ἀφράνιον εἰκὸς ἦν, πάντων ὁρώντων ἀπέσφαξεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ—οὐκ ἀνάξιος ὢν μὰ τὸν Ἐνυάλιον πρὸ πολλοῦ ἀποθανεῖν εἰ τοιαῦτα ἐρρητόρευεν. καὶ τοῦτο ἔφη ἰδόντας τοὺς παρόντας ἅπαντας θαυμάσαι καὶ ὑπερεπαινέσαι τὸν Ἀφράνιον. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μὲν αὐτοῦ κατεγίγνωσκον μονονουχὶ ζωμῶν καὶ λοπάδων μεμνημένου καὶ ἐπιδακρύοντος τῇ τῶν πλακούντων μνήμῃ, τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα ᾐτιασάμην, ὅτι μὴ τὸν συγγραφέα καὶ διδάσκαλον τοῦ δράματος προαποσφάξας ἀπέθανε.

27 Πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ὁμοίους τούτοις ἔχων σοι, ὦ ἑταῖρε, καταριθμήσασθαι, ὀλίγων ὅμως ἐπιμνησθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ὑπόσχεσιν ἤδη μετελεύσομαι, τὴν συμβουλὴν ὅπως ἂν ἄμεινον συγγράφοι τις. εἰσὶ γάρ τινες, οἳ τὰ μεγάλα μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἀξιομνημόνευτα παραλείπουσιν ἢ παραθέουσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἰδιωτείας καὶ ἀπειροκαλίας καὶ ἀγνοίας τῶν λεκτέων ἢ σιωπητέων τὰ μικρότατα πάνυ λιπαρῶς καὶ φιλοπόνως ἑρμηνεύουσιν ἐμβραδύνοντες, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸ μὲν ὅλον κάλλος τοσοῦτο καὶ τοιοῦτο ὂν μὴ βλέποι μηδὲ ἐπαινοίη μηδὲ τοῖς οὐκ εἰδόσιν ἐξηγοῖτο, τοῦ ὑποποδίου δὲ τό τε εὐθυεργὲς καὶ τὸ εὔξεστον θαυμάζοι καὶ τῆς κρηπῖδος τὸ εὔρυθμον, καὶ ταῦτα πάνυ μετὰ πολλῆς φροντίδος διεξιών.

aggerated that by the Graces I just cried and cried with laughing, especially when this orator Afranius at the end of his speech wept and with doleful lamentation reminded us of those expensive dinners and pledges! His last flourish was after Ajax: he drew his sword and with true nobility, as was proper for an Afranius, slew himself on the tomb in the sight of all—by the God of Havoc he deserved to die long before for making such a speech. All the onlookers, he said, when they saw this were amazed and praised Afranius to the skies. For my part I voted against him on every count for just stopping short of recalling the soups and shell-fish and weeping over the memory of the pancakes, but I blamed him most for dying without first cutting the throat of the historian who staged the show.

I could count off many more writers like these, my friend, but I shall name just a few before turning to my other undertaking, my advice how to write history better. There are some who leave out or skate over the important and interesting events, and from lack of education, taste, and knowledge of what to mention and what to ignore dwell very fully and laboriously on the most insignificant happenings; this is like failing to observe and praise and describe for those who do not know it the entire grandeur and supreme quality of the Zeus at Olympia, and instead admiring the "good workmanship" and "good finish" of the footstool and the "good proportions" of the base, and developing all this with great concern.

28 Ἐγὼ γοῦν ἤκουσά τινος τὴν μὲν ἐπ' Εὐρώπῳ μάχην ἐν οὐδ' ὅλοις ἑπτὰ ἔπεσι παραδραμόντος, εἴκοσι δὲ μέτρα ἢ ἔτι πλείω ὕδατος ἀναλωκότος ἐς ψυχρὰν καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμῖν προσήκουσαν διήγησιν ὡς Μαῦρός τις ἱππεὺς Μαυσάκας τοὔνομα ὑπὸ δίψους πλανώμενος ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη καταλάβοι Σύρους τινὰς τῶν ἀγροίκων ἄριστον παρατιθεμένους καὶ ὅτι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐκεῖνοι φοβηθεῖεν αὐτόν, εἶτα μέντοι μαθόντες ὡς τῶν φίλων εἴη κατεδέξαντο καὶ εἱστίασαν· καὶ γάρ τινα τυχεῖν αὐτῶν ἀποδεδημηκότα καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν τῶν Μαύρων, ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ γῇ στρατευομένου. μῦθοι τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο μακροὶ καὶ διηγήσεις ὡς θηράσειεν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Μαυρουσίᾳ καὶ ὡς ἴδοι τοὺς ἐλέφαντας πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ συννεμομένους καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ λέοντος ὀλίγου δεῖν καταβρωθείη καὶ ἡλίκους ἰχθῦς ἐπρίατο ἐν Καισαρείᾳ. καὶ ὁ θαυμαστὸς συγγραφεὺς ἀφεὶς τὰς [1] ἐν Εὐρώπῳ γιγνομένας σφαγὰς τοσαύτας καὶ ἐπελάσεις καὶ σπονδὰς ἀναγκαίας καὶ φυλακὰς καὶ ἀντιφυλακὰς ἄχρι βαθείας ἑσπέρας ἐφειστήκει ὁρῶν Μαλχίωνα τὸν Σύρον ἐν Καισαρείᾳ σκάρους παμμεγέθεις ἀξίους ὠνούμενον. εἰ δὲ μὴ νὺξ κατέλαβεν, τάχ' ἂν [2] καὶ συνεδείπνει μετ' αὐτοῦ ἤδη τῶν σκάρων ἐσκευασμένων. ἅπερ εἰ μὴ ἐνεγέγραπτο ἐπιμελῶς τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, μεγάλα ἂν ἡμεῖς ἠγνοηκότες ἦμεν, καὶ ἡ ζημία Ῥωμαίοις ἀφόρητος εἰ Μαυσάκας ὁ Μαῦρος διψῶν μὴ εὗρεν πιεῖν ἀλλ' ἄδειπνος ἐπανῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. καίτοι πόσα ἄλλα μακρῷ ἀναγκαιότερα ἑκὼν ἐγὼ νῦν παρίημι. ὡς καὶ αὐλητρὶς ἧκεν ἐκ τῆς πλησίον κώμης αὐτοῖς καὶ ὡς δῶρα ἀλλήλοις ἀντέδοσαν, ὁ Μαῦρος μὲν τῷ Μαλχίωνι λόγχην, ὁ

For instance, I myself heard a man cover the Battle of Europus in less than seven complete lines, but he spent twenty or even more measures of the water-clock on a frigid description that was of no interest to us of how a Moorish horseman, Mausacas by name, was wandering over the mountains because he was thirsty and found some Syrian country-folk setting out their lunch; at first they were afraid of him, but then when they found he was one of their friends they welcomed him and gave him food; for one of them happened to have been abroad and visited Mauretania, as a brother of his was campaigning in that country. Long stories and digressions followed as to how he had gone hunting in Mauretania and how he had seen many elephants grazing together at one spot and how he was almost eaten by a lion and how big the fish were he bought in Caesarea. And our famous historian forgot the great killings, charges, imposed truces, guards, and counter-guards at Europus, and until late evening stood watching Malchion the Syrian buying huge wrasses cheap in Caesarea. If night had not come down he might have dined with him when the wrasses were cooked. If this had not been painstakingly included in the history we should have missed some important details and it would have been an intolerable loss to the Romans if Mausacas, the Moor, had not found a drink when he was thirsty but returned to the camp supperless. Yet how much else far more essential am I willingly leaving out at this point! How a flute-girl came to them from the neighbouring village, how they exchanged gifts, the Moor giving to Malchion a spear

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1 ἀφεὶς τὰς N: ἐφιστὰς Γ.
2 τάχ' ἂν Schaefer: τάχα MSS.

δὲ τῷ Μαυσάκᾳ πόρπην, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς ἐπ' Εὐρώπῳ μάχης αὐτὰ δὴ τὰ κεφάλαια. τοιγάρτοι εἰκότως ἄν τις εἴποι τοὺς τοιούτους τὸ μὲν ῥόδον αὐτὸ μὴ βλέπειν, τὰς ἀκάνθας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰς παρὰ τὴν ῥίζαν ἀκριβῶς ἐπισκοπεῖν.

29 Ἄλλος, ὦ Φίλων, μάλα καὶ οὗτος γελοῖος, οὐδὲ τὸν ἕτερον πόδα ἐκ Κορίνθου πώποτε προβεβηκὼς οὐδ' ἄχρι Κεγχρεῶν ἀποδημήσας, οὔτι γε Συρίαν ἢ Ἀρμενίαν ἰδών, ὧδε ἤρξατο—μέμνημαι γάρ—"Ὦτα ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπιστότερα. γράφω τοίνυν ἃ εἶδον, οὐχ ἃ ἤκουσα." καὶ οὕτως ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντα ἑωράκει ὥστε τοὺς δράκοντας ἔφη τῶν Παρθυαίων (σημεῖον δὲ πλήθους τοῦτο αὐτοῖς—χιλίους γὰρ οἶμαι ὁ δράκων ἄγει) ζῶντας δράκοντας παμμεγέθεις εἶναι γεννωμένους ἐν τῇ Περσίδι μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, τούτους δὲ τέως μὲν ἐπὶ κοντῶν μεγάλων ἐκδεδεμένους ὑψηλοὺς αἰωρεῖσθαι καὶ πόρρωθεν ἐπελαυνόντων δέος ἐμποιεῖν, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπειδὰν ὁμοῦ ὦσι[1] λύσαντες αὐτοὺς ἐπαφιᾶσι τοῖς πολεμίοις· ἀμέλει πολλοὺς τῶν ἡμετέρων οὕτω καταποθῆναι καὶ ἄλλους περισπειραθέντων αὐτοῖς ἀποπνιγῆναι καὶ συγκλασθῆναι· ταῦτα δὲ ἐφεστὼς ὁρᾶν αὐτός, ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ μέντοι ἀπὸ δένδρου ὑψηλοῦ ποιούμενος τὴν σκοπήν. καὶ εὖ γε ἐποίησε μὴ ὁμόσε χωρήσας τοῖς θηρίοις, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ἡμεῖς οὕτω θαυμαστὸν συγγραφέα νῦν εἴχομεν καὶ ἀπὸ χειρὸς αὐτὸν μεγάλα καὶ λαμπρὰ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ ἐργασάμενον· καὶ γὰρ ἐκινδύνευσε πολλὰ καὶ ἐτρώθη περὶ Σοῦραν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κρανείου δῆλον ὅτι βαδίζων ἐπὶ τὴν Λέρναν. καὶ ταῦτα Κορινθίων ἀκουόντων ἀνεγίγνω-

[1] ὦσι Cobet: ἴωσι MSS (ἤνωσι Γ).

and he giving Mausacas a buckle, and many other similar incidents, the high-spots of the Battle of Europus! To sum up, one might rightly say that such people do not look at the rose itself, but accurately observe its thorns that grow along the stem.

Another man, my dear Philo, is also quite ridiculous: he had never set a foot outside Corinth nor even left home for Cenchreae; he had certainly not seen Syria or Armenia; yet he began as I recall as follows: "Ears are less trustworthy than eyes. I write then what I have seen, not what I have heard." And he has seen everything so keenly that he said that the serpents of the Parthians (this is a banner they use to indicate number—a serpent precedes, I think, a thousand men), he said that they were alive and of enormous size; that they are born in Persia a little way beyond Iberia; that they are bound to long poles and, raised on high, create terror while the Parthians are coming on from a distance; that in the encounter itself at close quarters they are freed and sent against the enemy; that in fact they had swallowed many of our men in this way and coiled themselves around others and suffocated and crushed them. He himself had been an eyewitness of this, he said, making his observations, however, in safety from a tall tree. He was quite right in not meeting the beasts at close quarters: we should not now have such an excellent historian, who off-hand did great and glorious deeds in this war; for he faced many a battle and was wounded near Sura, obviously in a walk from Cornel Hill to Lerna. He read all this to an audience of Corinthians who knew for a fact that he had not

σκεν τῶν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότων ὅτι μηδὲ κατὰ τοίχου γεγραμμένον πόλεμον ἑωράκει. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅπλα ἐκεῖνός γε ᾔδει οὐδὲ μηχανήματα οἷά ἐστιν οὐδὲ τάξεων ἢ καταλοχισμῶν ὀνόματα. πάνυ γοῦν ἔμελεν αὐτῷ πλαγίαν μὲν φάλαγγα τὴν ἐπὶ κέρως,[1] ἐπὶ κέρως δὲ λέγειν τὸ ἐπὶ μετώπου [2] ἄγειν.

30 *Εἷς δέ τις βέλτιστος ἅπαντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς τέλος τὰ πεπραγμένα ὅσα ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ, ὅσα ἐν Συρίᾳ, ὅσα ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ, τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγρητι, τὰ ἐν Μηδίᾳ, πεντακοσίοις οὐδ' ὅλοις ἔπεσι περιλαβὼν συνέτριψε καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας ἱστορίαν συγγεγραφέναι φησί. τὴν μέντοι ἐπιγραφὴν ὀλίγου δεῖν μακροτέραν τοῦ βιβλίου ἐπέγραψεν, "Ἀντιοχιανοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερονίκου"—δόλιχον γάρ που οἶμαι ἐν παισὶ νενίκηκεν—"τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καὶ ἐν Μηδίᾳ νῦν Ῥωμαίοις πραχθέντων ἀφήγησις."*

31 *Ἤδη δ' ἐγώ τινος καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα συγγεγραφότος ἤκουσα, καὶ τὴν λῆψιν τὴν Οὐολογέσσου καὶ τὴν Ὀσρόου σφαγήν—ὡς παραβληθήσεται τῷ λέοντι, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸν τριπόθητον ἡμῖν θρίαμβον. οὕτω μαντικῶς ἅμα ἔχων ἔσπευδεν ἤδη πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῆς γραφῆς. ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλιν ἤδη ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ᾤκισε μεγέθει τε μεγίστην καὶ κάλλει καλλίστην. ἔτι μέντοι ἐπισκοπεῖ καὶ διαβουλεύεται εἴτε Νίκαιαν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης χρὴ ὀνομάζεσθαι εἴτε Ὁμόνοιαν εἴτε Εἰρηνίαν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔτι ἄκριτον καὶ ἀνώνυμος ἡμῖν ἡ καλὴ πόλις ἐκείνη λήρου πολλοῦ καὶ κορύζης συγγραφικῆς γέμουσα.*

[1] *φάλαγγα τὴν ἐπὶ κέρως* Fritzsche: *τὴν φάλαγγα ἐπὶ κέρως* MSS.

[2] *μετώπου* N: *τόπου* Γ.

even seen a battle painted on a wall. In fact he had no knowledge of what weapons or engines were like or of the words " regiments " or " muster-rolls." A lot he cared if he spoke of a movement in column as a transverse battle-line and a frontal movement in line as a movement in column!

One fine historian compressed all that had happened from beginning to end in Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, by the Tigris, in Media into less than five hundred lines, incomplete at that, and after this says he has composed a history. Yet the title that he attached to it is almost longer than the book: "A description of recent exploits of Romans in Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Media, by Antiochianus the victor sacred to Apollo "—I suppose he has once been winner in the long foot race in the boys' competition.

I have heard of one who even included the future in his history: the capture of Vologesus, the killing of Osroes—how he was going to be thrown to the lions and, to cap everything, the triumph we have longed for so much—, in such a prophetic state was he as he hastened to the end of his composition. Why he even founded a city in Mesopotamia, outstanding in size, and of unsurpassed beauty. He is still considering and taking thought, however, whether he should call it Nicaea, after the victory, or Concord or Peacetown. It is still undecided and we have no name for that beautiful city full of copious nonsense and historical drivel. He has promised to write of

τὰ δ᾽ ἐν Ἰνδοῖς πραχθησόμενα ὑπέσχετο ἤδη γράψειν καὶ τὸν περίπλουν τῆς ἔξω θαλάττης—καὶ οὐχ ὑπόσχεσις ταῦτα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ προοίμιον τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἤδη συντέτακται, καὶ τὸ τρίτον τάγμα καὶ οἱ Κελτοὶ καὶ Μαύρων μοῖρα ὀλίγη σὺν Κασσίῳ πάντες οὗτοι ἐπεραιώθησαν τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν. ὅ τι δὲ καὶ πράξουσιν ἢ πῶς δέξονται τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐπέλασιν, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἡμῖν ὁ θαυμαστὸς συγγραφεὺς ἀπὸ Μουζίριδος ἢ ἀπ᾽ Ὀξυδρακῶν ἐπιστελεῖ.

32 Τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ὑπὸ ἀπαιδευσίας ληροῦσι, τὰ μὲν ἀξιόρατα οὔτε ὁρῶντες οὔτ᾽ εἰ βλέποιεν κατ᾽ ἀξίαν εἰπεῖν δυνάμενοι, ἐπινοοῦντες δὲ καὶ ἀναπλάττοντες ὅ τι κεν ἐπ᾽ ἀκαιρίμαν γλῶσσαν, φασίν, ἔλθῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ τῶν βιβλίων ἔτι σεμνυνόμενοι καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐπιγραφαῖς, καὶ γὰρ αὖ καὶ αὗται παγγέλοιοι· "τοῦ δεῖνος Παρθικῶν νικῶν τοσάδε"· καὶ αὖ· "Παρθίδος πρῶτον, δεύτερον", ὡς Ἀτθίδος δῆλον ὅτι. ἄλλος ἀστειότερον παρὰ πολύ—ἀνέγνων γάρ—"Δημητρίου Σαγαλασσέως Παρθονικικά" ** [1] οὐδ᾽ ὡς ἐν γέλωτι ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἐπισκῶψαι τὰς ἱστορίας οὕτω καλὰς οὔσας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ χρησίμου ἕνεκα. ὡς ὅστις ἂν ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φεύγῃ πολὺ μέρος ἤδη ἐς τὸ ὀρθῶς συγγράφειν οὗτος προείληφεν,[2] μᾶλλον δὲ ὀλίγων ἔτι προσδεῖται, εἴ γε ἀληθὲς ἐκεῖνό φησιν ἡ διαλεκτικὴ ὡς τῶν ἀμέσων ἡ θατέρου ἄρσις τὸ ἕτερον πάντως ἀντεισάγει.

33 Καὶ δὴ τὸ χωρίον σοι, φαίη τις ἄν, ἀκριβῶς ἀνακεκάθαρται καὶ αἵ τε ἄκανθαι ὁπόσαι ἦσαν καὶ

[1] Ω comments "ἐλλείπει τι".
[2] προείληφε Fritzsche: προσείληφεν MSS.

future happenings in India and the circumnavigation of the outer sea—and this is not just a promise; the introduction to his " Indian History " is already done, and the Third Legion, the Celts, and a small detachment of Moors have all crossed the River Indus with Cassius. What they are going to do and how they will receive the charge of the elephants, our wonderful historian will tell us before very long by letter from Muziris[1] or the Oxydraci.

This is the sort of nonsense they talk in floods through their lack of schooling. They neither see what is worth looking at nor, if they did see it, have they the ability to give it suitable expression. They invent and manufacture whatever " comes to the tip of an unlucky tongue," as they say, and pride themselves in the number of their books and in particular on the titles, which again are completely ridiculous: " So-and-so's Parthian victories in so many books "; and again: " Parthis I and II," like " Atthis " of course. Someone else did it much more stylishly—I have read it myself—" The Parthonicica of Demetrius of Sagalassus " . . .[2] not to make fun of them and pour scorn on histories so fine but with a practical end in view. For whoever avoids these faults and their like has already mastered a great part of what makes correct historical writing, or, rather, needs but little more, if logic is right when it says that to abolish one of two direct opposites is to establish the other instead.

Well now, someone will say, you have carefully cleared your ground and cut out all the thorns and

[1] Mangalore (Cranganore ?)
[2] There is a gap in the MSS here.

βάτοι ἐκκεκομμέναι εἰσί, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐρείπια ἤδη ἐκπεφόρηται, καὶ εἴ τι τραχύ, ἤδη καὶ τοῦτο λεῖόν ἐστιν, ὥστε οἰκοδόμει τι ἤδη καὶ αὐτός ὡς δείξῃς οὐκ ἀνατρέψαι μόνον τὸ τῶν ἄλλων γεννάδας ὢν ἀλλά τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπινοῆσαι δεξιὸν καὶ ὃ οὐδεὶς ἄν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ Μῶμος, μωμήσασθαι δύναιτο.

34 Φημὶ τοίνυν τὸν ἄριστα ἱστορίαν συγγράφοντα δύο μὲν ταῦτα κορυφαιότατα οἴκοθεν ἔχοντα ἥκειν, σύνεσίν τε πολιτικὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἑρμηνευτικήν, τὴν μὲν ἀδίδακτόν τι τῆς φύσεως δῶρον, ἡ δύναμις δὲ πολλῇ τῇ ἀσκήσει καὶ συνεχεῖ τῷ πόνῳ καὶ ζήλῳ τῶν ἀρχαίων προσγεγενημένη ἔστω. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄτεχνα καὶ οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ συμβούλου δεόμενα· οὐ γὰρ συνετοὺς καὶ ὀξεῖς ἀποφαίνειν τοὺς μὴ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως τοιούτους φησὶ τοῦτο ἡμῖν τὸ βιβλίον. ἐπεὶ πολλοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ παντὸς ἂν [1] ἦν ἄξιον, εἰ μεταπλάσαι καὶ μετακοσμῆσαι τὰ τηλικαῦτα ἠδύνατο ἢ ἐκ μολύβδου χρυσὸν ἀποφῆναι ἢ ἄργυρον ἐκ κασσιτέρου ἢ ἀπὸ Κόνωνος Τίτορμον ἢ ἀπὸ Λεωτροφίδου Μίλωνα ἐξεργάσασθαι.

35 Ἀλλὰ ποῦ τὸ τῆς τέχνης καὶ τὸ τῆς συμβουλῆς χρήσιμον; οὐκ ἐς ποίησιν τῶν προσόντων, ἀλλ' ἐς χρῆσιν αὐτῶν τὴν προσήκουσαν. οἷόν τι ἀμέλει καὶ Ἴκκος καὶ Ἡρόδικος καὶ Θέων καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος γυμναστής ὑπόσχοιντο ἄν σοι οὐ τὸν [2] Περδίκκαν παραλαβόντες—εἰ δὴ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς μητρυιᾶς ἐρασθεὶς καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κατεσκληκώς,

[1] So Fritzsche : ἂν appears after πολλοῦ in N and is omitted in γ.

brambles, and all the debris has been carried away and all the rough places are now smooth, so now build something yourself to show you are good not only at overturning other peoples' edifices but at thinking out something clever yourself which no one, not even Momus,[1] could censure.

I maintain then that the best writer of history comes ready equipped with these two supreme qualities: political understanding and power of expression; the former is an unteachable gift of nature, while power of expression may come through a deal of practice, continual toil, and imitation of the ancients. These then need no guiding rules and I have no need to advise on them; my book does not promise to make people understanding and quick who are not so by nature. It would be worth a good deal—everything rather—if it could remodel and transform things to that extent, or make gold out of lead or silver from tin, or manufacture a Titormus from a Conon or a Milo from a Leotrophides.[2]

Then where is technique and advice helpful? Not for the creation but for the appropriate employment of qualities. For instance, Iccus, Herodicus, Theon, and the other trainers would not promise you to take on Perdiccas—if indeed he and not Antiochus, the

[1] Momus was a literary personification of fault-finding—he appears in Lucian's *Zeus Rants*, *Loeb*, vol. ii, p. 119.

[2] Conon and Leotrophides were little men, Titormus and Milo of great size and strength.

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[2] *οὐ τὸν* Bekker: *τοῦτον* ΓN.

ἀλλὰ μὴ Ἀντίοχος ὁ τοῦ Σελεύκου[1]—ἀποφαίνειν Ὀλυμπιονίκην καὶ Θεαγένει τῷ Θασίῳ ἢ Πολυδάμαντι τῷ Σκοτουσσαίῳ ἀντίπαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑπόθεσιν εὐφυᾶ πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τῆς γυμναστικῆς παρὰ πολὺ ἀμείνω ἀποφαίνειν μετὰ τῆς τέχνης. ὥστε ἀπέστω καὶ ἡμῶν τὸ ἐπίφθονον τοῦτο τῆς ὑποσχέσεως εἰ τέχνην φαμὲν ἐφ' οὕτω μεγάλῳ καὶ χαλεπῷ τῷ πράγματι εὑρηκέναι· οὐ γὰρ ὁντινοῦν παραλαβόντες ἀποφαίνειν συγγραφέα φαμέν, ἀλλὰ τῷ φύσει συνετῷ καὶ ἄριστα πρὸς λόγους ἠσκημένῳ ὑποδείξειν ὁδούς τινας ὀρθάς (εἰ δὴ τοιαῦται φαίνονται) αἷς χρώμενος θᾶττον ἂν καὶ εὐμαρέστερον τελέσειεν ἄχρι[2] πρὸς τὸν
36 σκοπόν. καίτοι οὐ γὰρ ἂν φαίης ἀπροσδεῆ τὸν συνετὸν εἶναι τῆς τέχνης καὶ διδασκαλίας ὧν ἀγνοεῖ· ἐπεὶ κἂν ἐκιθάριζε μὴ μαθὼν καὶ ηὔλει καὶ πάντα ἂν ἠπίστατο. νῦν δὲ μὴ μαθὼν οὐκ ἄν τι αὐτῶν χειρουργήσειεν, ὑποδείξαντος δέ τινος ῥᾷστά τε ἂν μάθοι καὶ εὖ μεταχειρίσαιτο ἐφ' αὑτοῦ.

37 Καὶ τοίνυν καὶ ἡμῖν τοιοῦτός τις ὁ μαθητὴς νῦν παραδεδόσθω—συνεῖναί τε καὶ εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀγεννής, ἀλλ' ὀξὺ δεδορκώς, οἷος καὶ πράγμασι χρήσασθαι ἂν εἰ ἐπιτραπείη, καὶ γνώμην στρατιωτικὴν ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῆς πολιτικῆς καὶ ἐμπειρίαν στρατηγικὴν ἔχειν, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ γεγονώς ποτε καὶ γυμναζομένους ἢ ταττομένους στρατιώτας ἑωρακὼς καὶ ὅπλα εἰδὼς καὶ μηχανήματα, ἔτι δὲ[3] καὶ τί ἐπὶ κέρως καὶ τί ἐπὶ μετώπου, πῶς οἱ λόχοι, πῶς οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ πόθεν καὶ τί ἐξελαύνειν ἢ πε-

[1] Geist: after Σελεύκου MSS have Στρατονίκης ἐκείνης.
[2] Lang: MSS have καὶ after ἄχρι.
[3] ἔτι δὲ Burmeister: ἔνια MSS.

son of Seleucus, is the one who fell in love with his stepmother and wasted away because of it—and make him an Olympic victor, a rival to Theagenes the Thasian, or Polydamas of Scotussa, but only that if they were given a subject inclined by nature to receive athletic training they would by their technique make him much better. So let me too not suffer this reproach when I make my promise and say that I have discovered a technique in a matter so important and so difficult, for I do not promise to take on anyone you like and make him an historian; no, merely to demonstrate to a man who is intelligent by nature and well trained in expressing himself certain direct routes (if indeed that is what they appear to be) which if he will use them will help him more quickly and more easily to the attainment of his goal. You would not say that the intelligent man has no need of technique and instruction where he is ignorant—otherwise he would play the lyre, blow the pipe, and understand everything without learning. As it is, he could not do any of this without first learning, and with someone to guide him he will learn most easily and perform them well for himself.

So give us now a student of this kind—not without ability to understand and express himself, keen-sighted, one who could handle affairs if they were turned over to him, a man with the mind of a soldier combined with that of a good citizen, and a knowledge of generalship; yes, and one who has at some time been in a camp and has seen soldiers exercising or drilling and knows of arms and engines; again, let him know what "in column," what "in line" mean, how the companies of infantry, how the cavalry, are manoeuvred, the meaning of "deploy" and "in-

ριελαύνειν, καὶ ὅλως οὐ τῶν κατοικιδίων τις οὐδ' οἷος πιστεύειν μόνον τοῖς ἀπαγγέλλουσιν.

38 Μάλιστα *δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῶν πάντων ἐλεύθερος ἔστω τὴν γνώμην καὶ μήτε φοβείσθω μηδένα μήτε ἐλπιζέτω μηδέν, ἐπεὶ ὅμοιος ἔσται τοῖς φαύλοις δικασταῖς πρὸς χάριν ἢ πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν ἐπὶ μισθῷ δικάζουσιν. ἀλλὰ μὴ μελέτω αὐτῷ μήτε* Φίλιππος *ἐκκεκομμένος τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ὑπὸ* Ἀστέρος *τοῦ* Ἀμφιπολίτου *τοῦ τοξότου ἐν* Ὀλύνθῳ, *ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτος οἷος ἦν δειχθήσεται· μήτ' εἰ* Ἀλέξανδρος *ἀνιάσεται ἐπὶ τῇ* Κλείτου *σφαγῇ ὠμῶς ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ γενομένῃ, εἰ σαφῶς ἀναγράφοιτο· οὐδὲ* Κλέων *αὐτὸν φοβήσει μέγα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δυνάμενος καὶ κατέχων τὸ βῆμα, ὡς μὴ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ὀλέθριος καὶ μανικὸς ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ἦν· οὐδὲ ἡ σύμπασα πόλις τῶν* Ἀθηναίων, *ἢν τὰ ἐν* Σικελίᾳ *κακὰ ἱστορῇ καὶ τὴν* Δημοσθένους *λῆψιν καὶ τὴν* Νικίου *τελευτὴν καὶ ὡς ἐδίψων καὶ οἷον τὸ ὕδωρ ἔπινον καὶ ὡς ἐφονεύοντο πίνοντες οἱ πολλοί. ἡγήσεται γάρ—ὅπερ δικαιότατον—ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων αὐτὸς ἕξειν τὴν αἰτίαν ἢν τὰ δυστυχῶς ἢ ἀνοήτως γεγενημένα ὡς ἐπράχθη διηγῆται—οὐ γὰρ ποιητὴς αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μηνυτὴς ἦν. ὥστε κἂν καταναυμαχῶνται τότε οὐκ ἐκεῖνος ὁ καταδύων ἐστὶ κἂν φεύγωσιν οὐκ ἐκεῖνος ὁ διώκων, ἐκτὸς εἰ μή εὔξασθαι δέον παρέλιπεν.*[1] *ἐπεί τοί γε εἰ σιωπήσας αὐτὰ ἢ πρὸς τοὐναντίον εἰπὼν ἐπανορθώσασθαι ἐδύνατο, ῥᾷστον ἦν ἑνὶ καλάμῳ λεπτῷ τὸν* Θουκυδίδην *ἀνατρέψαι μὲν τὸ ἐν ταῖς* Ἐπιπολαῖς *παρατείχισμα, καταδῦσαι δὲ τὴν* Ἑρμοκράτους *τριήρη καὶ τὸν κατάρατον* Γύλιππον *διαπεῖραι*

[1] *παρέλιπεν* Solanus: *μή τι παρέλιπεν β: παρέλιπον* Γ.

vest ", in short not a stay-at-home or one who must rely on what people tell him.

Above all and before everything else, let his mind be free, let him fear no one and expect nothing, or else he will be like a bad judge who sells his verdict to curry favour or gratify hatred. He must not be concerned that Philip has had his eye put out by Aster of Amphipolis, the archer at Olynthus—he must show him exactly as he was. Nor must he mind if Alexander is going to be angry when he gives a clear account of the cruel murder of Clitus at the banquet. Neither will Cleon with his great power in the assembly and his mastery of the platform frighten him from saying that he was murderous and lunatic: nor even the entire city of the Athenians if he records the disaster of Sicily, the capture of Demosthenes, and the death of Nicias, the thirst of the troops, the sort of water they drank, and how most of them were slain as they drank it. For he will think quite rightly that no man of sense will blame him if he gives an account of unlucky or stupid actions—he has not been responsible for them, he has merely told the tale. So that if they are ever defeated in a sea-fight it is not he who sank them and if they run away it is not he who drives them on, unless he neglected to say a prayer when he ought. Surely if by ignoring them or reversing them he could set them right, it would have been very easy for Thucydides with one insubstantial pen to overturn the counter-wall at Epipolae, and sink the trireme of Hermocrates, to transfix that cursed man Gylippus in the

μεταξὺ ἀποτειχίζοντα καὶ ἀποταφρεύοντα τὰς ὁδούς καὶ τέλος Συρακοσίους μὲν ἐς τὰς λιθοτομίας ἐμβαλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίους περιπλεῖν Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τῶν πρώτων τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐλπίδων. ἀλλ' οἶμαι τὰ μὲν πραχθέντα οὐδὲ Κλωθὼ ἂν ἔτι ἀνακλώσειεν οὐδὲ Ἄτροπος μετα-
39 *τρέψειε.* Τοῦ *δὴ συγγραφέως ἔργον ἕν—ὡς ἐπράχθη εἰπεῖν. τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο ἄχρι ἂν ἢ φοβῆται Ἀρταξέρξην ἰατρὸς αὐτοῦ ὢν ἢ ἐλπίζῃ κάνδυν πορφυροῦν καὶ στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ ἵππον τῶν* Νισαίων *λήψεσθαι μισθὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἐπαίνων. ἀλλ' οὐ* Ξενοφῶν *αὐτὸ ποιήσει, δίκαιος συγγραφεύς, οὐδὲ* Θουκυδίδης. *ἀλλὰ κἂν ἰδίᾳ μισῇ τινας πολὺ ἀναγκαιότερον ἡγήσεται τὸ κοινὸν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ πλείονος ποιήσεται τῆς ἔχθρας, κἂν φιλῇ ὅμως οὐκ ἀφέξεται ἁμαρτάνοντος.*

40 Ἓν *γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, τοῦτο ἴδιον ἱστορίας, καὶ μόνῃ θυτέον τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, εἴ τις ἱστορίαν γράψων ἴοι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἀμελητέον αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅλως πῆχυς εἷς καὶ μέτρον ἀκριβές, ἀποβλέπειν μὴ εἰς τοὺς νῦν ἀκούοντας ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα συνεσομένους τοῖς συγγράμμασιν. εἰ δὲ τὸ παραυτίκα τις θεραπεύοι, τῆς τῶν κολακευόντων μερίδος εἰκότως ἂν νομισθείη, οὓς πάλαι ἡ ἱστορία καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ἀπέστραπτο, οὐ μεῖον ἢ κομμωτικὴν ἡ γυμναστική.* Ἀλεξάνδρου *γοῦν καὶ τοῦτο ἀπομνημονεύουσιν ὅς* Ἡδέως *ἄν, ἔφη, πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀνεβίουν, ὦ* Ὀνησίκριτε,[1] *ἀποθανὼν ὡς μάθοιμι ὅπως ταῦτα οἱ ἄνθρωποι τότε ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν.*

[1] *Ὀνησίκριτε* Solanus: **-κρατες** MSS.

act of blocking the roads with walls and ditches, and finally to throw the Syracusans into the stone-quarries while the Athenians sailed round Sicily and Italy as Alcibiades had first hoped. No, when what is done is done I fancy that even Clotho could not unspin their destiny or Atropus change their course.[1] The historian's sole task is to tell the tale as it happened. This he cannot do as long as he is afraid of Artaxerxes when he is his physician or hopes to get a purple cufta,[2] a gold necklet, and a Nisaean horse as a reward for the eulogies in his work.[3] No Xenophon (a just historian), no Thucydides will do that. On the contrary, even if he personally hates certain people he will think the public interest far more binding, and regard truth as worth more than enmity, and if he has a friend he will nevertheless not spare him if he errs.

This, as I have said, is the one thing peculiar to history, and only to Truth must sacrifice be made. When a man is going to write history, everything else he must ignore. In short, the one standard, the one yardstick is to keep in view not your present audience but those who will meet your work hereafter. Whoever serves the present will rightly be counted a flatterer—a person on whom history long ago right from the beginning has turned its back, as much as has physical culture on the art of make-up. For example they record this remark of Alexander's: "I should be glad, Onesicritus," he said, "to come back to life for a little while after my death to dis-

[1] Clotho and Atropus were Fates. Clotho ("Spinster") spun the thread of life, Atropus ("Neverturn") severed it. There is a play on the names in the Greek.

[2] A Median garment with sleeves.

[3] Referring to Ctesias of Cnidus. He spent seventeen years at court and wrote a history of Persia.

εἰ δὲ νῦν αὐτὰ ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ἀσπάζονται, μὴ θαυμάσῃς· οἴονται γὰρ οὐ μικρῷ τινι τῷ δελέατι τούτῳ ἀνασπάσειν ἕκαστος τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν εὔνοιαν. Ὁμήρῳ γοῦν, καίτοι πρὸς τὸ μυθῶδες τὰ πλεῖστα συγγεγραφότι ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ἤδη καὶ πιστεύειν τινὲς ὑπάγονται, μόνον τοῦτο εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀληθείας μέγα τεκμήριον τιθέμενοι ὅτι μὴ περὶ ζῶντος ἔγραφεν· οὐ γὰρ εὑρίσκουσιν οὗτινος ἕνεκα ἐψεύδετ' ἄν.

41 Τοιοῦτος οὖν μοι ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἔστω—ἄφοβος, ἀδέκαστος, ἐλεύθερος, παρρησίας καὶ ἀληθείας φίλος, ὡς ὁ κωμικός φησι, τὰ σῦκα σῦκα, τὴν σκάφην δὲ σκάφην ὀνομάσων, οὐ μίσει οὐδὲ φιλίᾳ τι [1] νέμων οὐδὲ φειδόμενος [2] ἢ ἐλεῶν ἢ αἰσχυνόμενος ἢ δυσωπούμενος, ἴσος δικαστής, εὔνους ἅπασιν ἄχρι τοῦ μὴ θατέρῳ τι ἀπονεῖμαι πλεῖον τοῦ δέοντος, ξένος ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις καὶ ἄπολις, αὐτόνομος, ἀβασίλευτος, οὐ τί τῷδε ἢ τῷδε δόξει λογιζόμενος, ἀλλὰ τί πέπρακται λέγων.

42 Ὁ δ' οὖν Θουκυδίδης εὖ μάλα τοῦτ' ἐνομοθέτησεν καὶ διέκρινεν ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν συγγραφικήν, ὁρῶν μάλιστα θαυμαζόμενον τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἄχρι τοῦ καὶ Μούσας κληθῆναι αὐτοῦ τὰ βιβλία. κτῆμά τε [3] γάρ φησι μᾶλλον ἐς ἀεὶ συγγράφειν ἤπερ ἐς τὸ παρὸν ἀγώνισμα, καὶ μὴ τὸ μυθῶδες ἀσπάζεσθαι ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν γεγενημένων ἀπολείπειν τοῖς ὕστερον. καὶ ἐπάγει τὸ χρήσιμον καὶ ὃ τέλος ἄν τις εὖ φρονῶν ὑπόθοιτο ἱστορίας, ὡς εἴ ποτε καὶ αὖθις τὰ ὅμοια καταλάβοι, ἔχοιεν,

[1] τι add. Fritzsche.
[2] φειδόμενος ΝΩΕ: φιλούμενος ΓF.
[3] κτῆμά τε Solanus: κτήματα MSS.

cover how men read these present events then. If now they praise and welcome them do not be surprised: they think, every one of them, that this is a fine bait to catch my goodwill." Homer indeed in general tended towards the mythical in his account of Achilles, yet some nowadays are inclined to believe him; they cite as important evidence of his truthfulness the single fact that he did not write about him during his lifetime: they cannot find any motive for lying.

That, then, is the sort of man the historian should be: fearless, incorruptible, free, a friend of free expression and the truth, intent, as the comic poet[1] says, on calling a fig a fig and a trough a trough, giving nothing to hatred or to friendship, sparing no one, showing neither pity nor shame nor obsequiousness, an impartial judge, well disposed to all men up to the point of not giving one side more than its due, in his books a stranger and a man without a country, independent, subject to no sovereign, not reckoning what this or that man will think, but stating the facts.

Thucydides laid down this law very well: he distinguished virtue and vice in historical writing, when he saw Herodotus greatly admired to the point where his books were named after the Muses. For Thucydides says that he is writing a possession for evermore rather than a prize-essay for the occasion, that he does not welcome fiction but is leaving to posterity the true account of what happened. He brings in, too, the question of usefulness and what is, surely, the purpose of sound history: that if ever again men find themselves in a like situation they may be

[1] Aristophanes, on the dubious authority of Tzetzes (see Kock, *Comic. Graec. Fragm.* III, p. 451).

φησί, πρὸς τὰ προγεγραμμένα ἀποβλέποντες εὖ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐν ποσί.[1]

43 *Καὶ τὴν μὲν γνώμην τοιαύτην ἔχων ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἡκέτω μοι, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν καὶ τὴν τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἰσχύν, τὴν μὲν σφοδρὰν ἐκείνην καὶ κάρχαρον καὶ συνεχῆ ταῖς περιόδοις καὶ ἀγκύλην ταῖς ἐπιχειρήσεσι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τῆς ῥητορείας δεινότητα μὴ κομιδῇ τεθηγμένος ἀρχέσθω τῆς γραφῆς, ἀλλ' εἰρηνικώτερον διακείμενος. καὶ ὁ μὲν νοῦς σύστοιχος ἔστω καὶ πυκνός, ἡ λέξις δὲ σαφὴς καὶ πολιτική, οἵα ἐπισημότατα δηλοῦν τὸ ὑποκείμενον.*

44 *Ὡς γὰρ τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ συγγραφέως σκοποὺς ὑπεθέμεθα παρρησίαν καὶ ἀλήθειαν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῇ φωνῇ αὐτοῦ εἷς σκοπὸς ὁ πρῶτος, σαφῶς δηλῶσαι καὶ φανότατα ἐμφανίσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα, μήτε ἀπορρήτοις καὶ ἔξω πάτου ὀνόμασι μήτε τοῖς ἀγοραίοις τούτοις καὶ καπηλικοῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς συνεῖναι, τοὺς δὲ πεπαιδευμένους ἐπαινέσαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ σχήμασι κεκοσμήσθω ἀνεπαχθέσι καὶ τὸ ἀνεπιτήδευτον μάλιστα ἔχουσιν, ἐπεὶ τοῖς κατηρτυμένοις τῶν ζωμῶν ἐοικότας ἀποφαίνει τοὺς λόγους.*

45 *Καὶ ἡ μὲν γνώμη κοινωνείτω καὶ προσαπτέσθω τι καὶ ποιητικῆς παρ' ὅσον μεγαληγόρος καὶ διηρμένη καὶ ἐκείνη, καὶ μάλισθ' ὁπόταν παρατάξεσι καὶ μάχαις καὶ ναυμαχίαις συμπλέκηται· δεήσει γὰρ τότε ποιητικοῦ τινος ἀνέμου ἐπουριάσοντος τὰ ἀκάτια καὶ συνδιοίσοντος ὑψηλὴν καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν κυμάτων τὴν ναῦν. ἡ λέξις δὲ ὅμως ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκέτω, τῷ μὲν κάλλει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν λεγομένων συνεπαιρομένη καὶ ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα ὁμοιουμένη, ξενίζουσα δὲ μηδ' ὑπὲρ*

able, he says, from a consideration of the records of the past to handle rightly what now confronts them.

That then is the sort of mind the historian should have, please, when he comes along. Now as to his language and power of expression, he need not show at the beginning of his work a well-whetted proficiency in that vehement, incisive style that you know, packed with periods, and intricate with logical reasoning or other features of clever rhetoric. No, his tone should be more pacific, his thought coherent and well-knit, his language exact and statesmanlike, of a kind to set forth the subject with the utmost clarity and accuracy.

For just as we set free expression and truthfulness as the target for the historian's mind, so for his language this should be the first aim: to set forth the matter exactly and to expound it as lucidly as possible, using neither unknown or out-of-the-way words nor that vulgar language of the market-place, but such as ordinary folk may understand and the educated commend. Then, let figures adorn the work that give no offence and in particular appear unlaboured; otherwise he makes language seem like highly-seasoned sauces.

Let his mind have a touch and share of poetry, since that too is lofty and sublime, especially when he has to do with battle arrays, with land and sea fights; for then he will have need of a wind of poetry to fill his sails and help carry his ship along, high on the crest of the waves. Let his diction nevertheless keep its feet on the ground, rising with the beauty and greatness of his subjects and as far as possible resembling them, but without becoming more un-

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[1] *ποσί* one late MS : *πόλεσι(ν)* other MSS.

τὸν καιρὸν ἐνθουσιῶσα. κινδύνων γὰρ αὐτῇ τότε ὁ μέγιστος [1] παρακινῆσαι καὶ κατενεχθῆναι ἐς τὸν τῆς ποιητικῆς κορύβαντα, ὥστε μάλιστα πειστέον τηνικαῦτα τῷ χαλινῷ καὶ σωφρονητέον, εἰδότας ὡς ἱπποτυφία τις καὶ ἐν λόγοις πάθος οὐ μικρὸν γίγνεται. ἄμεινον οὖν ἐφ᾽ ἵππου ὀχουμένῃ τότε τῇ γνώμῃ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν πεζῇ συμπαραθεῖν, ἐχομένην τοῦ ἐφιππίου ὡς μὴ ἀπολείποιτο τῆς φορᾶς.

46 Καὶ μὴν καὶ συνθήκῃ τῶν ὀνομάτων εὐκράτῳ καὶ μέσῃ χρηστέον, οὔτε ἄγαν ἀφιστάντα καὶ ἀπαρτῶντα—τραχὺ γάρ—οὔτε ῥυθμῷ παρ᾽ ὀλίγον ὡς οἱ πολλοί συνάπτοντα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπαίτιον, τὸ δὲ ἀηδὲς τοῖς ἀκούουσι.

47 Τὰ δὲ πράγματα αὐτὰ οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχε συνακτέον, ἀλλὰ φιλοπόνως καὶ ταλαιπώρως πολλάκις περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνακρίναντα, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν παρόντα καὶ ἐφορῶντα, εἰ δὲ μή, τοῖς ἀδεκαστότερον ἐξηγουμένοις προσέχοντα καὶ οὓς εἰκάσειεν ἄν τις ἥκιστα πρὸς χάριν ἢ ἀπέχθειαν ἀφαιρήσειν ἢ προσθήσειν τοῖς γεγονόσιν. κἀνταῦθα ἤδη καὶ στοχαστικός τις καὶ συνθετικὸς τοῦ πιθανωτέρου
48 ἔστω. καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἀθροίσῃ ἅπαντα ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα, πρῶτα μὲν ὑπόμνημά τι συνυφαινέτω αὐτῶν καὶ σῶμα ποιείτω ἀκαλλὲς ἔτι καὶ ἀδιάρθρωτον· εἶτα ἐπιθεὶς τὴν τάξιν ἐπαγέτω τὸ κάλλος καὶ χρωννύτω τῇ λέξει καὶ σχηματιζέτω [2] καὶ ῥυθμιζέτω.

49 Καὶ ὅλως ἐοικέτω τότε τῷ τοῦ Ὁμήρου Διὶ ἄρτι μὲν τὴν τῶν ἱπποπόλων Θρῃκῶν γῆν ὁρῶντι, ἄρτι

[1] κινδύνων . . . ὁ μεγιστος Fritzsche: κινδὺνων . . . μέγιστον Γ: κίνδυνον . . . μέγιστον N: κίνδυνος . . . μέγιστος U.

familiar or carried away than the occasion warrants. For then its greatest risk is that of going mad and being swept down into poetry's wild enthusiasm, so that at such times above all he must obey the curb and show prudence, in the knowledge that a stallion's pride in literature as in life is no trifling ailment. It is better, then, that when his mind is on horseback his exposition should go on foot, running alongside and holding the saddle-cloth, so as not to be left behind.

Again, in putting words together one should cultivate a well-tempered moderation, without excessive separation or detachment—for that is harsh—and not, as most people, almost link them by means of rhythm; the latter deserves our censure, the former is unpleasant to the audience.

As to the facts themselves, he should not assemble them at random, but only after much laborious and painstaking investigation. He should for preference be an eyewitness, but, if not, listen to those who tell the more impartial story, those whom one would suppose least likely to subtract from the facts or add to them out of favour or malice. When this happens let him show shrewdness and skill in putting together the more credible story. When he has collected all or most of the facts let him first make them into a series of notes, a body of material as yet with no beauty or continuity. Then, after arranging them into order, let him give it beauty and enhance it with the charms of expression, figure, and rhythm.

In brief let him be then like Homer's Zeus, looking now at the land of the horse-rearing Thracians, now at

[2] σχηματιζέτω Solanus : χρηματιζέτω MSS.

δὲ τὴν Μυσῶν—κατὰ ταὐτὰ [1] γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρτι μὲν τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἴδια ὁράτω καὶ δηλούτω ἡμῖν οἷα ἐφαίνετο αὐτῷ ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ ὁρῶντι, ἄρτι δὲ τὰ Περσῶν, εἶτ' ἀμφότερα εἰ μάχοιντο. καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ παρατάξει μὴ πρὸς ἓν μέρος ὁράτω μηδὲ ἐς ἕνα ἱππέα ἢ πεζόν—εἰ μὴ Βρασίδας τις εἴη προπηδῶν ἢ Δημοσθένης ἀνακόπτων τὴν ἐπίβασιν· ἀλλὰ [2] ἐς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μὲν τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ εἴ τι παρεκελεύσαντο, κἀκεῖνο ἀκηκούσθω, καὶ ὅπως καὶ ἥτινι γνώμῃ καὶ ἐπινοίᾳ ἔταξαν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀναμιχθῶσι, κοινὴ ἔστω ἡ θέα, καὶ ζυγοστατείτω τότε ὥσπερ ἐν τρυτάνῃ τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ συνδιωκέτω καὶ συμφευγέτω. καὶ πᾶσι τούτοις μέτρον ἐπέστω, μὴ ἐς κόρον μηδὲ ἀπειροκάλως μηδὲ νεαρῶς, ἀλλὰ ῥᾳδίως ἀπολυέσθω· καὶ στήσας ἐνταῦθά που ταῦτα ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα μεταβαινέτω, ἢν κατεπείγῃ· εἶτα ἐπανίτω λυθείς, ὁπόταν ἐκεῖνα καλῇ· καὶ πρὸς πάντα σπευδέτω καὶ ὡς δυνατὸν ὁμοχρονείτω καὶ μεταπετέσθω ἀπ' Ἀρμενίας μὲν εἰς Μηδίαν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ῥοιζήματι ἑνὶ εἰς Ἰβηρίαν, εἶτα εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ὡς μηδενὸς καιροῦ ἀπολείποιτο.

50 *Μάλιστα δὲ κατόπτρῳ ἐοικυῖαν παρασχέσθω τὴν γνώμην ἀθόλῳ καὶ στιλπνῷ καὶ ἀκριβεῖ τὸ κέντρον καὶ ὁποίας ἂν δέξηται τὰς μορφὰς τῶν ἔργων τοιαῦτα καὶ δεικνύτω αὐτά, διάστροφον δὲ ἢ παράχρουν ἢ ἑτερόσχημον μηδέν. οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ οἱ ῥήτορες [3] γράφουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν λεχθησόμενα ἔστιν καὶ εἰρήσεται· πέπρακται γὰρ ἤδη· δεῖ δὲ*

[1] *ταὐτὰ* early editions : *ταῦτα* MSS.
[2] *ἀλλὰ* add. Fritzsche.

the Mysians' country [1]—in the same way let him look now at the Roman side in his own way and tell us how he saw it from on high, now at the Persian side, then at both sides, if the battle is joined. In the engagement itself let him not look at a single part or a single cavalryman or foot soldier—unless it be a Brasidas leaping forward or a Demosthenes beating off his attempt to land [2]; but first, the generals (and he should have listened to any exhortations of theirs), the plan, method, and purpose of their battle array. When the battle is joined he should look at both sides and weigh the events as it were in a balance, joining in both pursuit and flight. All this should be in moderation, avoiding excess, bad taste, and impetuosity; he should preserve an easy detachment: let him call a halt here and move over there if necessary, then free himself and return if events there summon him; let him hurry everywhere, follow a chronological arrangement as far as he can, and fly from Armenia to Media, from there with a single scurry of wings to Iberia,[3] then to Italy, to avoid missing any critical situation.

Above all, let him bring a mind like a mirror, clear, gleaming-bright, accurately centred, displaying the shape of things just as he receives them, free from distortion, false colouring, and misrepresentation. His concern is different from that of the orators—what historians have to relate is fact and will speak for itself, for it has already happened: what is required is ar-

[1] Homer, *Il.* xiii, 4–5.

[2] During the Athenian occupation of Pylos, 425 B.C. (Thuc. IV, 11–12).

[3] Georgia, not Spain.

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[3] *οἱ ῥήτορες* Fritzsche: *τοῖς ῥήτορσι* MSS.

τάξαι καὶ εἰπεῖν αὐτά. ὥστε οὐ τί εἴπωσι ζητητέον αὐτοῖς ἀλλ' ὅπως εἴπωσιν. ὅλως δέ, νομιστέον τὸν ἱστορίαν συγγράφοντα Φειδίᾳ χρῆναι ἢ Πραξιτέλει ἐοικέναι ἢ Ἀλκαμένει ἤ τῳ ἄλλῳ ἐκείνων—οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι χρυσὸν ἢ ἄργυρον ἢ ἐλέφαντα ἢ τὴν ἄλλην ὕλην ἐποίουν, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ὑπῆρχε καὶ προϋπεβέβλητο Ἠλείων ἢ Ἀθηναίων ἢ Ἀργείων πεπορισμένων, οἱ δὲ ἔπλαττον μόνον καὶ ἔπριον τὸν ἐλέφαντα καὶ ἔξεον καὶ ἐκόλλων καὶ ἐρρύθμιζον καὶ ἐπήνθιζον τῷ χρυσῷ, καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἡ τέχνη αὐτοῖς ἐς δέον οἰκονομήσασθαι τὴν ὕλην.

51 Τοιοῦτο δή τι καὶ τὸ τοῦ συγγραφέως ἔργον—εἰς καλὸν διαθέσθαι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ εἰς δύναμιν ἐναργέστατα ἐπιδεῖξαι αὐτά. καὶ ὅταν τις ἀκροώμενος οἴηται μετὰ ταῦτα ὁρᾶν τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπαινῇ, τότε δὴ τότε ἀπηκρίβωται καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἔπαινον ἀπείληφε τὸ ἔργον τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας Φειδίᾳ.

52 Πάντων δὲ ἤδη παρεσκευασμένων καὶ ἀπροοιμίαστον μέν ποτε ποιήσεται τὴν ἀρχήν, ὁπόταν μὴ πάνυ κατεπείγῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα προδιοικήσασθαί τι ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ· δυνάμει δὲ καὶ τότε φροιμίῳ χρήσεται τῷ ἀποσαφοῦντι περὶ τῶν λεκτέων.

53 Ὁπόταν δὲ καὶ φροιμιάζηται, ἀπὸ δυοῖν μόνον ἄρξεται, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ῥήτορες ἀπὸ τριῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς εὐνοίας παρεὶς προσοχὴν καὶ εὐμάθειαν εὐπορήσει τοῖς ἀκούουσι. προσέξουσι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἢν δείξῃ ὡς περὶ μεγάλων ἢ ἀναγκαίων ἢ οἰκείων ἢ χρησίμων ἐρεῖ. εὐμαθῆ δὲ καὶ σαφῆ τὰ ὕστερα ποιήσει τὰς αἰτίας προεκτιθέμενος καὶ
54 περιορίζων τὰ κεφάλαια τῶν γεγενημένων. τοιού-

rangement and exposition. So they must look not for what to say but how to say it. In brief, we must consider that the writer of history should be like Phidias or Praxiteles or Alcamenes or one of the other sculptors —they certainly never manufactured their own gold or silver or ivory or their other material; no, their material was before them, put into their hands by Eleans or Athenians or Argives, and they confined themselves to fashioning it, sawing the ivory, polishing, glueing, aligning it, setting it off with the gold, and their art lay in handling their material properly. The task of the historian is similar: to give a fine arrangement to events and illuminate them as vividly as possible. And when a man who has heard him thinks thereafter that he is actually seeing what is being described and then praises him—then it is that the work of our Phidias of history is perfect and has received its proper praise.

After all his preparations are made he will sometimes begin without a preface, when the subject matter requires no preliminary exposition. But even then he will use a virtual preface to clarify what he is going to say.

Whenever he does use a preface, he will make two points only, not three like the orators. He will omit the appeal for a favourable hearing and give his audience what will interest and instruct them. For they will give him their attention if he shows that what he is going to say will be important, essential, personal, or useful. He will make what is to come easy to understand and quite clear, if he sets forth the causes

τοις προοιμίοις οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν συγγραφέων ἐχρήσαντο· Ἡρόδοτος μέν, ὡς μὴ τὰ γενόμενα ἐξίτηλα τῷ χρόνῳ γένηται, μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ὄντα καὶ ταῦτα νίκας Ἑλληνικὰς δηλοῦντα καὶ ἥττας βαρβαρικάς· Θουκυδίδης δέ, μέγαν τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλπίσας ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον καὶ μείζω τῶν προγεγενημένων ἐκεῖνον τὸν πόλεμον· καὶ γὰρ παθήματα ἐν αὐτῷ μεγάλα ξυνέβη γενέσθαι.

55 *Μετὰ δὲ τὸ προοίμιον, ἀνάλογον τοῖς πράγμασιν ἢ μηκυνόμενον ἢ βραχυνόμενον, εὐαφής τε* [1] *καὶ εὐάγωγος ἔστω ἡ ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν μετάβασις. ἅπαν γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα τῆς ἱστορίας διήγησις μακρά ἐστιν. ὥστε ταῖς τῆς διηγήσεως ἀρεταῖς κατακεκοσμήσθω, λείως τε καὶ ὁμαλῶς προϊοῦσα καὶ αὐτὴ ὁμοίως ὥστε μὴ προὔχειν μηδὲ κοιλαίνεσθαι· ἔπειτα τὸ σαφὲς ἐπανθείτω, τῇ τε λέξει,* [2] *ὡς ἔφην, μεμηχανημένον καὶ τῇ συμπεριπλοκῇ τῶν πραγμάτων. ἀπόλυτα γὰρ καὶ ἐντελῆ πάντα ποιήσει, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐξεργασάμενος ἐπάξει τὸ δεύτερον ἐχόμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἁλύσεως τρόπον συνηρμοσμένον ὡς μὴ διακεκόφθαι μηδὲ διηγήσεις πολλὰς εἶναι ἀλλήλαις παρακειμένας, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τῷ πρώτῳ τὸ δεύτερον* [3] *μὴ γειτνιᾶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινωνεῖν καὶ ἀνακεκρᾶσθαι κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα.*

56 *Τάχος ἐπὶ πᾶσι χρήσιμον, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ μὴ ἀπορία τῶν λεκτέων εἴη· καὶ τοῦτο πορίζεσθαι χρὴ μὴ τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἢ ῥημάτων ὅσον ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων—λέγω δέ, εἰ παραθέοις*

[1] *τε* Schaefer: *δὲ* N: om. Γ.

and outlines the main events. The best historians have written prefaces of this sort: Herodotus, writing history to preserve events from time's decay, great and glorious as they were, telling of Greek victories and barbarian defeat; Thucydides too, with his expectation that the war would be great, more memorable, and more important than any that had gone before; and in fact the sufferings in that war were considerable.

After the preface, long or short in proportion to its subject matter, let the transition to the narrative be gentle and easy. For all the body of the history is simply a long narrative. So let it be adorned with the virtues proper to narrative, progressing smoothly, evenly and consistently, free from humps and hollows. Then let its clarity be limpid, achieved, as I have said, both by diction and the interweaving of the matter. For he will make everything distinct and complete, and when he has finished the first topic he will introduce the second, fastened to it and linked with it like a chain, to avoid breaks and a multiplicity of disjointed narratives; no, always the first and second topics must not merely be neighbours but have common matter and overlap.

Rapidity is everywhere useful, especially if there is no lack of material; and one must look to the subject matter to provide this rather than to the words and phrases—I mean, if you run quickly over small and

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[2] *τῇ τε λέξει, ὡς* MSS but *τῇ τε δεξίως* Γ: *τε* om. N.
[3] *τῷ πρώτῳ τὸ δεύτερον* Fritzsche: *τὸ πρῶτον τῷ δευτέρῳ* MSS.

μὲν τὰ μικρὰ καὶ ἧττον ἀναγκαῖα, λέγοις δὲ ἱκανῶς τὰ μεγάλα· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ παραλειπτέον πολλά. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἢν ἑστιᾷς τοὺς φίλους καὶ πάντα ᾖ παρεσκευασμένα, διὰ τοῦτο ἐν μέσοις τοῖς πέμμασιν καὶ τοῖς ὀρνέοις καὶ λοπάσι τοσαύταις καὶ συσὶν ἀγρίοις καὶ λαγῳοῖς καὶ ὑπογαστρίοις καὶ σαπέρδην ἐνθήσεις καὶ ἔτνος ὅτι κἀκεῖνο παρεσκεύαστο, ἀμελήσεις δὲ τῶν εὐτελεστέρων.

57 *Μάλιστα δὲ σωφρονητέον ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὀρῶν ἢ τειχῶν ἢ ποταμῶν ἑρμηνείαις ὡς μὴ δύναμιν λόγων ἀπειροκάλως παρεπιδείκνυσθαι δοκοίης καὶ τὸ σαυτοῦ δρᾶν παρεὶς τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον προσαψάμενος τοῦ χρησίμου καὶ σαφοῦς ἕνεκα μεταβήσῃ ἐκφυγὼν τὸν ἰξὸν τὸν ἐν τῷ πράγματι καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἅπασαν λιχνείαν, οἷον ὁρᾷς* [1] *καὶ Ὅμηρος ὁ* [2] *μεγαλόφρων ποιεῖ· καίτοι ποιητὴς ὢν παραθεῖ τὸν Τάνταλον καὶ τὸν Ἰξίονα καὶ τὸν Τιτυὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. εἰ δὲ Παρθένιος ἢ Εὐφορίων ἢ Καλλίμαχος ἔλεγεν, πόσοις ἂν οἴει ἔπεσι τὸ ὕδωρ ἄχρι πρὸς τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Ταντάλου ἤγαγεν· εἶτα πόσοις ἂν Ἰξίονα ἐκύλισε. μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ Θουκυδίδης αὐτὸς ὀλίγα τῷ τοιούτῳ εἴδει τοῦ λόγου χρησάμενος σκέψαι ὅπως εὐθὺς ἀφίσταται ἢ μηχάνημα ἑρμηνεύσας ἢ πολιορκίας σχῆμα δηλώσας ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρειῶδες ὂν ἢ Ἐπιπολῶν* [3] *σχῆμα ἢ Συρακοσίων λιμένα. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ τὸν λοιμὸν διηγῆται καὶ μακρὸς εἶναι δοκῇ, σὺ τὰ πράγματα ἐννόησον· εἴσῃ γὰρ οὕτω τὸ τάχος καὶ ὡς φεύγοντος ὅμως ἐπιλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ τὰ γεγενημένα πολλὰ ὄντα.*

[1] *ὁρᾷς* Jacobitz : *ὁρᾷς τι* MSS.

less essential things, while giving adequate treatment to matters of importance; indeed, a great deal should even be omitted. When you feast your friends and all is ready you do not for that reason in the middle of all your pastries, fowl, oysters, wild boars, hare, and choice fish cutlets, serve up salt fish and pease-porridge because, that, too, is at hand—you will ignore the humbler fare.

You need especial discretion in descriptions of mountains, fortifications, and rivers, to avoid the appearance of a tasteless display of your word-power and of indulging your own interests at the expense of the history; you will touch on them lightly for the sake of expediency or clarity, then change the subject, avoiding the limed twig set there and all temptation of this sort, as you see Homer doing in his greatness of mind: poet though he is he runs by Tantalus, and Ixion and Tityus and the rest. But if Parthenius or Euphorion or Callimachus were the narrator, think how many words he could have used to carry the water to Tantalus' lips! How many to set Ixion whirling! Take Thucydides himself: he makes little use of this sort of writing, and see how quickly he gets away when he has been describing an engine or explaining a necessary and useful plan of investment, or the plan of Epipolae, or the harbour of Syracuse. When he appears long-winded in his account of the plague just think of the facts and you will realise his rapidity and how the pressure of events holds him as he tries to get away.

[2] ὅ F and edd.: ὡς other MSS.

[3] ᾗ 'Επ. Gesner and Hemsterhuys: ην ἔτι πόλεων Γ (sic): ᾗ ἔτι πόλεως N: ᾗ ἔτι πόλεων other MSS. (some omit ᾗ).

58 Ἢν δέ ποτε καὶ λόγους ἐροῦντά τινα δεήσῃ εἰσάγειν, μάλιστα μὲν ἐοικότα τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ τῷ πράγματι οἰκεῖα λεγέσθω, ἔπειτα ὡς σαφέστατα καὶ ταῦτα. πλὴν ἐφεῖταί σοι τότε καὶ ῥητορεῦσαι καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν τῶν λόγων δεινότητα.

59 Ἔπαινοι μὲν γὰρ ἢ ψόγοι πάνυ πεφεισμένοι καὶ περιεσκεμμένοι καὶ ἀσυκοφάντητοι καὶ μετὰ ἀποδείξεων καὶ ταχεῖς καὶ μὴ ἄκαιροι, ἐπεὶ ἔξω τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἐκεῖνοί εἰσιν, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν Θεοπόμπῳ αἰτίαν ἕξεις φιλαπεχθημόνως κατηγοροῦντι τῶν πλείστων καὶ διατριβὴν ποιουμένῳ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς κατηγορεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἱστορεῖν τὰ πεπραγμένα.

60 Καὶ μὴν καὶ μῦθος εἴ τις παρεμπέσοι, λεκτέος μέν, οὐ μὴν πιστωτέος πάντως, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ θετέος τοῖς ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλωσιν εἰκάσουσι περὶ αὐτοῦ· σὺ δ' ἀκίνδυνος καὶ πρὸς οὐδέτερον ἐπιρρεπέστερος.

61 Τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐκείνου μοι μέμνησο—πολλάκις γὰρ τοῦτο ἐρῶ—καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν μόνον ὁρῶν γράφε ὡς οἱ νῦν ἐπαινέσονταί σε καὶ τιμήσουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἐστοχασμένος πρὸς τοὺς ἔπειτα μᾶλλον σύγγραφε καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἀπαίτει τὸν μισθὸν τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς λέγηται περὶ σοῦ, "ἐκεῖνος μέντοι ἐλεύθερος ἀνὴρ ἦν καὶ παρρησίας μεστός,[1] οὐδὲν οὔτε κολακευτικὸν οὔτε δουλοπρεπὲς ἀλλ' ἀλήθεια ἐπὶ πᾶσι." τοῦτ', εἰ σωφρονοίη τις, ὑπὲρ πάσας τὰς νῦν ἐλπίδας θεῖτο ἄν, οὕτως ὀλιγοχρονίους οὔσας.

62 Ὁρᾷς τὸν Κνίδιον ἐκεῖνον ἀρχιτέκτονα οἷον ἐποίησεν; οἰκοδομήσας γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Φάρῳ

[1] μεστός FGH² edd.: μισθός ΓΝ and others.

If a person has to be introduced to make a speech, above all let his language suit his person and his subject, and next let these also be as clear as possible. It is then, however, that you can play the orator and show your eloquence.

Eulogy and censure will be careful and considered, free from slander, supported by evidence, cursory, and not inopportune, for those involved are not in court, and you will receive the same censure as Theopompus, who impeached nearly everybody in a quarrelsome spirit and made a business of it, to the extent that he was a prosecutor rather than a recorder of events.

Again, if a myth comes along you must tell it but not believe it entirely; no, make it known for your audience to make of it what they will—you run no risk and lean to neither side.

In general please remember this—I shall repeat it time and again—: do not write with your eye just on the present, to win praise and honour from your contemporaries; aim at eternity and prefer to write for posterity: present your bill for your book to them, so that it may be said of you: " He was a free man, full of frankness, with no adulation or servility anywhere, but everywhere truthfulness." That, if a man were sensible, he would value above all present hopes, ephemeral as they are.

Do you know what the Cnidian architect did? He built the tower on Pharos, the mightiest and most

πύργον, μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον ἔργων ἁπάντων, ὡς πυρσεύοιτο ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ναυτιλλομένοις ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάττης καὶ μὴ καταφέροιντο ἐς τὴν Παραιτονίαν, παγχάλεπον, ὥς φασιν, οὖσαν καὶ ἄφυκτον[1] *εἴ τις ἐμπέσοι ἐς τὰ ἕρματα. οἰκοδομήσας οὖν τὸ ἔργον ἔνδοθεν μὲν κατὰ τῶν λίθων τὸ αὑτοῦ ὄνομα ἐπέγραψεν, ἐπιχρίσας δὲ τιτάνῳ καὶ ἐπικαλύψας ἐπέγραψε τοὔνομα τοῦ τότε βασιλεύοντος, εἰδώς, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο, πάνυ ὀλίγου χρόνου συνεκπεσούμενα μὲν τῷ χρίσματι τὰ γράμματα ἐκφανησόμενον δέ, "Σώστρατος Δεξιφάνους Κνίδιος θεοῖς σωτῆρσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν πλωϊζομένων." οὕτως οὐδ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ἐς τὸν τότε καιρὸν οὐδὲ τὸν αὑτοῦ βίον τὸν ὀλίγον ἑώρα, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸν νῦν καὶ τὸν ἀεί, ἄχρι ἂν ἑστήκῃ ὁ πύργος καὶ μένῃ αὐτοῦ ἡ τέχνη.*

63 *Χρὴ τοίνυν καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν οὕτω γράφεσθαι σὺν τῷ ἀληθεῖ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐλπίδα ἤπερ σὺν κολακείᾳ πρὸς τὸ ἡδὺ τοῖς νῦν ἐπαινουμένοις. οὗτός σοι κανὼν καὶ στάθμη ἱστορίας δικαίας. καὶ εἰ μὲν σταθμήσονταί τινες αὐτῇ, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι καὶ εἰς δέον ἡμῖν γέγραπται· εἰ δὲ μή, κεκύλισται ὁ πίθος ἐν Κρανείῳ.*

[1] *ἄφυκτον* Solanus : *ἄφευκτον* MSS.

beautiful work of all, that a beacon-light might shine from it for sailors far over the sea and that they might not be driven on to Paraetonia, said to be a very difficult coast with no escape if you hit the reefs. After he had built the work he wrote his name on the masonry inside, covered it with gypsum, and having hidden it inscribed the name of the reigning king. He knew, as actually happened, that in a very short time the letters would fall away with the plaster and there would be revealed: "Sostratus of Cnidos, the son of Dexiphanes, to the Divine Saviours, for the sake of them that sail at sea." Thus, not even he had regard for the immediate moment or his own brief life-time: he looked to our day and eternity, as long as the tower shall stand and his skill abide.

History then should be written in that spirit, with truthfulness and an eye to future expectations rather than with adulation and a view to the pleasure of present praise. There is your rule and standard for impartial history. If there will be some to use this standard it will be well and I have written to some purpose. If not, well I have rolled my crock on Cornel Hill![1]

[1] See pages 4–5.

THE DIPSADS

A description of some curious fauna of the Libyan desert leads to flattery. The piece is introductory.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΨΑΔΩΝ

1 Τῆς Λιβύης τὰ νότια ψάμμος ἐστὶν βαθεῖα καὶ γῆ διακεκαυμένη, ἔρημος ἐπὶ πολύ, ἀκριβῶς ἄκαρπος, πεδινὴ ἅπασα, οὐ χλόην οὐ πόαν οὐ φυτὸν οὐχ ὕδωρ ἔχουσα, ἢ εἴ που ἄρα ἐν κοίλοις συνεστηκὸς ὑετοῦ ὀλίγου λείψανον, παχὺ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ δυσῶδες, οὐδὲ πάνυ διψῶντι ἀνθρώπῳ πότιμον. ἀοίκητος γοῦν ἐστι διὰ ταῦτα· ἢ πῶς γὰρ ἂν οἰκοῖτο ἀνήμερος οὕτω καὶ ξηρὰ καὶ ἄφορος οὖσα καὶ πολλῷ τῷ αὐχμῷ πιεζομένη; καὶ τὸ θάλπος δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ ἀὴρ κομιδῇ πυρώδης καὶ φλογερὸς ὢν καὶ ἡ ψάμμος ὑπερζέουσα παντελῶς ἄβατον τὴν χώραν τίθησι.

2 Γαράμαντες μόνοι πρόσοικοι ὄντες, εὐσταλὲς καὶ κοῦφον ἔθνος, ἄνθρωποι σκηνῖται, ἀπὸ θήρας τὰ πολλὰ ζῶντες, ἐνίοτε οὗτοι ἐσβάλλουσι θηράσοντες ἀμφὶ τροπὰς τὰς χειμερινὰς μάλιστα, ὕσαντα τὸν θεὸν τηρήσαντες, ὁπότε τὸ πολὺ τοῦ καύματος σβεσθείη καὶ ἡ ψάμμος νοτισθείη καὶ ἀμηγέπη βατὰ γένοιτο. ἡ θήρα δέ ἐστιν ὄνων τε τῶν ἀγρίων καὶ στρουθῶν τῶν μεγάλων χαμαὶ τούτων καὶ πιθήκων μάλιστα καὶ ἐλεφάντων ἐνίοτε· ταῦτα γὰρ μόνα διαρκεῖ πρὸς τὸ δίψος καὶ ἀνέχεται ἐπὶ πολὺ ταλαιπωρούμενα ὑπὸ πολλῷ καὶ ὀξεῖ τῷ ἡλίῳ. καὶ ὅμως οἱ Γαράμαντες ἐπειδὰν τὰ σιτία καταναλώσωσιν ἅπερ ἔχοντες ἀφίκοντο, ἀπελαύνουσιν ὀπίσω εὐθὺς δεδιότες μὴ σφίσιν ἡ ψάμμος

THE DIPSADS

The south of Libya is deep sand and parched earth, desert for the most part, completely infertile, all flat land, devoid of green shoots and grass and growing things and water, except perhaps for a standing pool left by the rain—and this is turbid and stinking, unfit even for a very thirsty man to drink. For this reason the country is uninhabited—for who could live in a land so wild, arid, and barren, oppressed by continual drought? The very heat of the sun, the downright fiery hotness of the air, and the temperature of the seething sand make the country completely inaccessible.

Only the Garamantes live near by—a slim, agile race, tent-dwellers, living for the most part by hunting. They sometimes cross into the country on hunting forays, generally about the time of the winter solstice, after waiting for rain, when most of the heat has abated and the sand, now damp, can be trodden after a fashion. They hunt for wild asses and the ostrich, monkeys a great deal, and an occasional elephant. Only these animals can stand the thirst and endure for long periods the pressure of the great fierceness of the sun. Nevertheless, as soon as the Garamantes exhaust the food they have brought with them they drive for home, for fear that the sand

ἀναφλεγεῖσα δύσβατος καὶ ἄπορος γένηται, εἶτα ὥσπερ ἐντὸς ἀρκύων ληφθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλωνται μετὰ τῆς ἄγρας. ἄφυκτα γάρ ἐστιν ἣν ὁ ἥλιος ἀνασπάσας τὴν ἰκμάδα καὶ τάχιστα ξηράνας τὴν χώραν ὑπερζέσῃ, ἀκμαιοτέραν τὴν ἀκτῖνα προσβαλὼν ἅτε πρὸς τὴν νοτίδα παρατεθηγμένην· τροφὴ γὰρ αὕτη τῷ πυρί.

3 Καίτοι *ταῦτα πάντα ὁπόσα εἶπον—τὸ θάλπος, τὸ δίψος, ἡ ἐρημία, τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαβεῖν—ἧττον ὑμῖν δυσχερῆ εἶναι δόξει τοῦ λεχθησομένου, καὶ δι' ὃ φευκτέα πάντως ἡ χώρα ἐκείνη. ἑρπετὰ γὰρ ποικίλα μεγέθει τε μέγιστα καὶ πλήθει πάμπολλα καὶ τὰς μορφὰς ἀλλόκοτα καὶ τὸν ἰὸν ἄμαχα ἐπινέμεται τὴν γῆν, τὰ μὲν ὑποβρύχια, φωλεύοντα ἐν μυχῷ τῆς ψάμμου, τὰ δὲ ἄνω ἐπιπολάζοντα—φύσαλοι καὶ ἀσπίδες καὶ ἔχιδναι καὶ κεράσται καὶ βουπρήστεις καὶ ἀκοντίαι καὶ ἀμφίσβαιναι καὶ δράκοντες καὶ σκορπίων γένος διττόν, τὸ μὲν ἕτερον ἐπίγειόν τι καὶ πεζόν, ὑπέρμεγα καὶ πολυσφόνδυλον, θάτερον δὲ ἐναέριον καὶ πτηνόν, ὑμενόπτερον δὲ οἷα ταῖς ἀκρίσι*[1] *καὶ τέττιξι καὶ νυκτερίσι τὰ πτερά. τοιαῦτα ὄρνεα πολλὰ ἐπιπετόμενα οὐκ εὐπρόσιτον ἀπεργάζεται τὴν Λιβύην ἐκείνην.*

4 Τὸ *δὲ δὴ πάντων ἑρπετῶν δεινότατον ὧν ἡ ψάμμος τρέφει ἡ διψάς ἐστιν, ὄφις οὐ πάνυ μέγας, ἐχίδνῃ ὅμοιος, τὸ δῆγμα βίαιος, τὸν ἰὸν παχύς, ὀδύνας μὲν ἀλήκτους ἐπάγων εὐθύς· ἐκκαίει τε γὰρ καὶ σήπει καὶ πίμπρασθαι ποιεῖ, καὶ βοῶσιν ὥσπερ ἐν πυρᾷ κείμενοι. τὸ δὲ μάλιστα κατα-*

[1] *ἀκρίσι* Bochart: *ἰκτῖσι* MSS.

may heat up again and become difficult and impassable and they and their spoil perish together as though caught in a trap. There is certainly no escape if the sun draws off the moisture and becomes excessively hot—it soon parches the land. Its rays are made keener by the wet and are all the more intense, wetness being fuel to the fire.

Yet all the points I have mentioned—the heat, the lack of water, the desert, the infertility—will seem to you less unbearable than what I am going to describe, something that makes that country to be completely avoided. Crawlers of many kinds, of enormous size and in vast numbers, monstrous in shape and deadly poisonous, live in the country. Some of them live underground hiding in holes in the sand; others crawl on the surface—puff-adders, asps, vipers, horned snakes, ox-beetles, darters, double-ended snakes, pythons, and two kinds of scorpions—a big multi-jointed one that crawls on the ground, and a winged one that flies, though its wings are of membrane like those of locusts, cicadas, and bats. The number of these flying, winged creatures make that part of Libya difficult of access.

But the most terrible reptile of all that the sand breeds is the dipsad, a snake not particularly big, resembling a viper. Its bite is strong and its poison is thick, causing immediate and lasting pain. It burns and corrodes and sets on fire and its victims scream as if lying on a pyre. But what is

*πονοῦν καὶ κατατρῦχον αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν,
ὁμώνυμον πάθος τῷ ἑρπετῷ. διψῶσι γὰρ εἰς
ὑπερβολήν, καὶ τὸ παραδοξότατον, ὅσῳπερ ἂν
πίνωσι, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὀρέγονται τοῦ ποτοῦ· καὶ
ἡ ἐπιθυμία πολὺ πλέον ἐπιτείνεται αὐτοῖς. οὐδ'
ἂν σβέσειάς ποτε τὸ δίψος, οὐδ' ἢν τὸν Νεῖλον
αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν Ἴστρον ὅλον ἐκπιεῖν παράσχῃς, ἀλλὰ
προσεκκαύσειας*[1] *ἐπάρδων τὴν νόσον, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ
5 τις ἐλαίῳ πῦρ κατασβεννύοι. λέγουσιν ἰατρῶν
παῖδες ἐκείνην τὴν αἰτίαν εἶναι, παχὺν τὸν ἰὸν
ὄντα ἔπειτα δευόμενον τῷ ποτῷ ὀξυκίνητον
γίγνεσθαι, ὑγρότερον ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς καθιστάμενον
καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διαχεόμενον.*

6 *Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐδένα τοῦτο πεπονθότα εἶδον, μηδέ, ὦ θεοί, ἴδοιμι οὕτω κολαζόμενον ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπέβην τῆς Λιβύης τὸ παράπαν εὖ ποιῶν. ἐπίγραμμα δέ τι ἤκουσα, ὅ μοι τῶν ἑταίρων τις ἔλεγεν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ στήλης ἀνεγνωκέναι ἀνδρὸς οὕτως ἀποθανόντος. ἐκ Λιβύης ἔφη ἀπιὼν ἐς Αἴγυπτον παρὰ τὴν μεγάλην Σύρτιν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἄλλως. ἔνθα δὴ τάφῳ ἐντυχεῖν παρὰ τὴν ἠϊόνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ κλύσματι, καὶ στήλην ἐφεστάναι δηλοῦσαν τοῦ ὀλέθρου τὸν τρόπον· κεκολάφθαι γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἄνθρωπον μέν τινα οἷον τὸν Τάνταλον γράφουσιν ἐν λίμνῃ ἑστῶτα καὶ ἀρυόμενον τοῦ ὕδατος, ὡς πίοι δῆθεν, τὸ θηρίον δὲ—τὴν διψάδα—ἐμπεφυκὸς αὐτῷ περιεσπειρᾶσθαι τῷ ποδί, καί τινας γυναῖκας ὑδροφορούσας ἅμα πολλὰς καταχεῖν τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῦ· πλησίον δὲ ᾠὰ κεῖσθαι οἷα τῶν στρουθῶν ἐκείνων οὓς ἔφην*

[1] *προσεκκαύσειας* L. A. Post; *προσεκκαύσεις* MSS.

particularly wearing and exhausting is indicated by the reptile's name.[1] Its victims suffer agonies of thirst, and, strangest of all, the more they drink the greater is their craving for water—their longing increases enormously. It is impossible ever to quench their thirst. Even if you gave them the Nile itself or the whole Ister to drink, you would only add to the burning by watering the disease—like trying to quench a fire with oil. The doctors say that this is because the thick poison flows more easily when wetted by drinking and becomes more liquid, naturally enough, and so spreads over a greater area.

I myself never saw anyone so affected and I pray I may never see a human being tormented in this way; but then I have never set foot in Libya, I am glad to say. I have heard of an inscription which one of my friends said he himself had read on the tombstone of a man who had died in this way. He said that on a journey from Libya to Egypt his route passed the great Syrtis gulf, the only way he could go. There on the shore right by the water's edge he found a grave with a stone on it revealing the manner of death. There was a man carved on it looking like Tantalus in the paintings, standing in a lake and scooping up water, obviously to drink it, with the animal, a dipsad, wound round his foot clinging tight; a number of women were fetching water and pouring it over him together. Nearby lay eggs of the ostriches

[1] Dipsad means "the thirst-causing one."

θηρᾶν τοὺς Γαράμαντας· γεγράφθαι δὲ πρὸς τοὐπίγραμμα—οὐ χεῖρον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ εἰπεῖν,

Τοῖα παθόντ' οἶμαι καὶ Τάνταλον αἴθοπος ἰοῦ
μηδαμὰ κοιμῆσαι διψαλέην ὀδύνην.
καὶ Δαναοῖο κόρας τοῖον [1] πίθον οὐκ ἀναπλῆσαι
αἰὲν ἐπαντλούσας ὑδροφόρῳ καμάτῳ.

ἔτι καὶ ἄλλα ἔπη τέτταρά ἐστι περὶ τῶν ᾠῶν, καὶ ὡς ἀναιρούμενος αὐτὰ ἐδήχθη, ἀλλ' οὐκέτι μέμνημαι ἐκείνων.

7 Συλλέγουσι δὲ ἄρα τὰ ᾠὰ καὶ ἐσπουδάκασι περὶ αὐτὰ οἱ περίοικοι, οὐχ ὡς φαγεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκεύεσι χρῶνται κενώσαντες καὶ ἐκπώματα ποιοῦνται ἀπ' αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι κεραμεύειν διὰ τὸ ψάμμον εἶναι τὴν γῆν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μεγάλα εὑρεθείη, καὶ πῖλοι γίγνονται δύο ἐκ τοῦ ᾠοῦ ἑκάστου· τὸ γὰρ ἡμίτομον ἑκάτερον ἀποχρῶν τῇ κεφαλῇ πῖλός
8 ἐστιν. ἐκεῖ τοίνυν λοχῶσιν αἱ διψάδες παρὰ τὰ ᾠά, καὶ ἐπειδὰν προσέλθῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἐκ τῆς ψάμμου ἐξερπύσασαι δάκνουσι τὸν κακοδαίμονα· ὁ δὲ πάσχει ἐκεῖνα τὰ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένα πίνων ἀεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον διψῶν καὶ πιμπλάμενος οὐδέποτε.

9 Ταυτὶ οὐ μὰ Δία πρὸς Νίκανδρον τὸν ποιητὴν φιλοτιμούμενος διεξῆλθον, οὐδ' ὅπως ὑμεῖς μάθοιτε ὡς οὐκ ἀμελὲς γεγένηταί μοι φύσεις τῶν Λιβυκῶν ἑρπετῶν εἰδέναι. ἰατρῶν γὰρ ἂν μᾶλλον ὁ ἔπαινος εἴη, οἷς ἀνάγκη εἰδέναι ταῦτα ὡς καὶ ἀμύνασθαι αὐτὰ μετὰ τῆς τέχνης ἔχοιεν. ἀλλά μοι δοκῶ—καὶ πρὸς φιλίου μὴ δυσχεράνητε τὴν εἰκόνα θηριώδη οὖσαν—ὅμοιόν τι καὶ αὐτὸς παθεῖν πρὸς

which I said the Garamantes hunted. There was also the inscription, which I may as well add:

Such were the sufferings, methinks, of Tantalus too,
Never to still hot venom's racking thirst,
Such the jar Danaïd maids ne'er filled,
Though ever drawing water with unending toil of carrying.

There are four more lines about the eggs and how he was bitten as he took them, but I can no longer remember them.

The neighbouring tribes collect these eggs and prize them, not only for eating. They use the empty shells for utensils and make cups from them (they cannot work in earthenware because the earth is all sand). Any big egg they come across is made into two caps, either half being big enough to fit a man's head. It is there then that the dipsads lie in wait hard by the eggs. When someone approaches they creep out of the sand and bite the poor fellow. Then follow the torments I mentioned just now—continual drinking, increasing thirst without relief.

It is certainly not to rival Nicander the poet [1] that I have given these details, nor to let you see that I have not neglected the natural history of the reptiles of Libya. Doctors would win more approbation for this—they have to know these things so that they can use their skill to resist the disease. No, I think I feel towards you—in the name of friendship do not resent the comparison from animals—as those who are

[1] Nicander's poem, *Theriaca*, is an account of snakes and other poisonous creatures and gives remedies for their bites.

[1] *καὶ Δαναοῖο κόρας τοῖον* edd.: *τὰς τὸν* MSS.

ὑμᾶς οἷον ἐκεῖνοι πάσχουσι πρὸς τὸ ποτὸν οἱ δηχθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς διψάδος. ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν ἐπὶ πλέον παρίω ἐς ὑμᾶς, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὀρέγομαι τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ τὸ δίψος ἄσχετον ὑπεκκαίεταί μοι, καὶ ἔοικα οὐδ' ἐμπλησεσθαί ποτε τοῦ τοιούτου ποτοῦ. μάλα εἰκότως. ποῦ γὰρ ἂν οὕτω διειδεῖ τε καὶ καθαρῷ ὕδατι ἐντύχοιμι; ὥστε σύγγνωτε εἰ δηχθεὶς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ψυχὴν ἡδίστῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὑγιεινοτάτῳ τῷ δήγματι ἐμφοροῦμαι χανδὸν, ὑποθεὶς τῷ κρουνῷ τὴν κεφαλήν. εἴη μόνον μὴ ἐπιλιπεῖν τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιρρέοντα μηδὲ χυθεῖσαν τὴν σπουδὴν τῆς ἀκροάσεως κεχηνότα ἔτι καὶ διψῶντα καταλιπεῖν· ὡς δίψους γε ἕνεκα τοὐμοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκώλυε πίνειν ἀεί· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν σοφὸν Πλάτωνα, *κόρος οὐδεὶς τῶν καλῶν.*

bitten by the dipsad feel towards drinking: the oftener I appear before you the more I long to do so; thirst unquenchable inflames me and I think I shall never be sated with such drink. How could it be otherwise? Where else could I find water so transparent and pure? Forgive me then if my soul too has been bitten with this most sweet and health-giving bite and I dip my head into the spring and take my fill with open mouth. I only pray that your flowing streams may never fail nor your ready, eager listening ever be spilt me while I am still agape and still athirst. As far as my thirst goes, my thirst for you, nothing could stop me drinking for ever. As the wise Plato says, there is never too much of what is fine.

SATURNALIA

A dialogue between Cronus and Lucian in the guise of Priest of Cronus leads to the giving of laws to govern conduct at the Saturnalia, Cronus's own festival. Subsequent correspondence between Cronus and Lucian and Cronus and the Rich clears up some points of a practical nature.

ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΚΡΟΝΟΝ

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

1 Ὦ Κρόνε, σὺ γὰρ ἔοικας ἄρχειν τό γε νῦν εἶναι καὶ σοὶ τέθυται καὶ κεκαλλιέρηται παρ' ἡμῶν, τί ἂν μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν αἰτήσας λάβοιμι παρὰ σοῦ;

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ

Τοῦτο μὲν αὐτόν σε καλῶς ἔχει ἐσκέφθαι ὅ τι σοι εὐκτέον,[1] εἰ μὴ καὶ μάντιν ἅμα ἐθέλεις εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα, εἰδέναι τί σοι ἥδιον αἰτεῖν. ἐγὼ δὲ τά γε δυνατὰ οὐκ ἀνανεύσω πρὸς τὴν εὐχήν.

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

Ἀλλὰ πάλαι ἔσκεμμαι. ἐρῶ γὰρ τὰ κοινὰ ταυτὶ καὶ πρόχειρα—πλοῦτον καὶ χρυσὸν πολὺν καὶ ἀγρῶν [2] δεσπότην εἶναι καὶ ἀνδράποδα πολλὰ κεκτῆσθαι καὶ ἐσθῆτας εὐανθεῖς καὶ μαλακὰς καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἐλέφαντα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁπόσα τίμια. τούτων οὖν, ὦ ἄριστε Κρόνε, δίδου μοι, ὥς τι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς μηδὲ ἄμοιρον εἶναι μόνον αὐτὸν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου.

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ

2 Ὁρᾷς; οὐ κατ' ἐμὲ τοῦτο ᾔτησας. οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν διανέμειν τὰ τοιαῦτα. ὥστε μὴ ἄχθου, εἰ ἀτυχήσειας αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' αἴτει παρὰ τοῦ Διός,

[1] εὐκτέον Γ: εὐκταῖον other MSS.
[2] ἀγρῶν Courier: ἀνδρῶν MSS.

A CONVERSATION WITH CRONUS

PRIEST

Cronus, you seem to be king just now, and it is you to whom we have offered sacrifices and we have received favourable omens. Now, what precise return for these rites would you give me if I asked?

CRONUS

In this case the proper procedure is for you to have made your own decision what to pray for, unless you expect your king to be a diviner as well and know what request would please you. As far as lies within my power I shall not deny your prayer.

PRIEST

My decision was made a long time ago. I shall ask for the usual, obvious things—wealth, a lot of gold, to be lord of an estate, to own many slaves, clothing, bright-coloured and soft, silver, ivory, and everything else that is worth something. Grant me some part of this, my dearest Cronus, so that I too may profit from your reign, and may not spend my whole life as the only one who gets no benefit.

CRONUS

There! That request is beyond me. It is not mine to distribute things of that sort. So don't be discontented if you don't get them, but ask Zeus

ὁπόταν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἡ ἀρχὴ περιέλθῃ μετ᾿ ὀλίγον. ἐγὼ δ᾿ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς παραλαμβάνω τὴν δυναστείαν. ἑπτὰ μὲν ἡμερῶν ἡ πᾶσα βασιλεία, καὶ ἢν ἐκπρόθεσμος τούτων γένωμαι, ἰδιώτης εὐθύς εἰμι καί που τοῦ πολλοῦ δήμου εἷς. ἐν αὐταῖς δὲ ταῖς ἑπτὰ σπουδαῖον μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀγοραῖον διοικήσασθαί μοι συγκεχώρηται, πίνειν δὲ καὶ μεθύειν καὶ βοᾶν καὶ παίζειν καὶ κυβεύειν καὶ ἄρχοντας καθιστάναι [1] καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας εὐωχεῖν καὶ γυμνὸν ᾄδειν καὶ κροτεῖν ὑποτρέμοντα, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἐς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ὠθεῖσθαι ἀσβόλῳ κεχρισμένον τὸ πρόσωπον, ταῦτα ἐφεῖταί μοι ποιεῖν. τὰ μεγάλα δὲ ἐκεῖνα, τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον, ὁ Ζεὺς διαδίδωσιν οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ.

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

3 Ἀλλ᾿ οὐδ᾿ ἐκεῖνος, ὦ Κρόνε, ῥᾳδίως καὶ προχείρως. ἐγὼ γ᾿ οὖν ἤδη ἀπηγόρευκα αἰτῶν μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ, ὁ δ᾿ οὐκ ἐπαΐει τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αἰγίδα ἐπισείων καὶ τὸν κεραυνὸν ἐπανατεινόμενος δριμὺ ἐνορῶν ἐκπλήττει τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας. ἢν δέ ποτε καὶ ἐπινεύσῃ τινὶ καὶ πλούσιον ποιῇ, πολὺ τὸ ἄκριτον ἐνταῦθα, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐνίοτε καὶ συνετοὺς ἀφεὶς ὁ δὲ παμπονήροις τε καὶ ἀνοήτοις ἀνδράσι περιχεῖ τὸν πλοῦτον, μαστιγίαις ἢ ἀνδρογύνοις τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν. πλὴν τά γε σοὶ δυνατὰ ἐθέλω εἰδέναι τίνα ταῦτά ἐστιν.

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ

4 Οὐ μικρὰ ὅλως οὐδὲ παντάπασιν εὐκαταφρόνητα ὡς πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν ἐξετάζεσθαι τῆς συμπάσης ἀρχῆς—εἰ μή σοί γε μικρὸν δοκεῖ τὸ νικᾶν κυβεύοντα

when the sovereignty comes round to him, as it will do presently. I take over the kingship on set terms. My entire reign is for seven days; the moment this period is over I am a private citizen and, I suppose, one of the common herd. But during the seven days I have agreed to conduct no business whatever, not even in the market. What I may do is drink and be drunk, shout, play games and dice, appoint masters of the revels, feast the servants, sing stark naked, clap and shake, and sometimes even get pushed head-first into cold water with my face smeared with soot. Such great gifts as wealth and gold Zeus distributes to whomsoever he pleases.

PRIEST

But even Zeus, Cronus, is not ready or open-handed in his gifts. At any rate I've shouted for them till I'm worn out, yet he doesn't listen at all. No, he shakes his aegis and brandishes his thunderbolt with a fierce stare and terrifies those who bother him. If ever he does nod assent to anyone and make him rich, there is a great lack of discrimination about it. He sometimes passes over the good and wise and lavishes riches on wicked and stupid people, most of them criminals and effeminates. But the things *you* can do—these are what I want to know.

CRONUS

They are not entirely of no importance or altogether contemptible when judged in relation to the power of my entire empire—unless you think it

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[1] *καθιστάναι* Halm: *καθιστᾶν* F: *καθίστασθαι* ΓN.

καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς τὴν μονάδα κυλιομένου τοῦ κύβου σοὶ τὴν ἑξάδα ὑπεράνω ἀεὶ φαίνεσθαι. πολλοὶ γοῦν ἐς κόρον ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου ἐπεσιτίσαντο, οἷς ἵλεως καὶ φορὸς ὁ κύβος ἐπινεύσει· οἱ δὲ ἔμπαλιν γυμνοὶ ἐξενήξαντο συντριβέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ σκάφους περὶ οὕτω μικρῷ ἕρματι τῷ κύβῳ. καὶ μὴν καὶ πιεῖν ἐς τὸ ἥδιστον καὶ ᾠδικώτερον ἄλλου δόξαι ᾆσαι [1] ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ καὶ διακονουμένων τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐμπεσεῖν—τοῦτο γὰρ τοὐπιτίμιον τῆς ἀδεξίου διακονίας—σὲ δὲ ἀνακηρυχθῆναι καλλίνικον καὶ τἆθλα φέρεσθαι τὸν ἀλλᾶντα—ὁρᾷς ἡλίκον τὸ ἀγαθόν; ἔτι καὶ βασιλέα μόνον ἐφ᾽ ἁπάντων γενέσθαι τῷ ἀστραγάλῳ κρατήσαντα, ὡς μήτε ἐπιταχθείης γελοῖα ἐπιτάγματα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιτάττειν ἔχοις, τῷ μὲν αἰσχρόν τι περὶ αὑτοῦ ἀναβοῆσαι, τῷ δὲ γυμνὸν ὀρχήσασθαι καὶ ἀράμενον [2] τὴν αὐλητρίδα τρὶς τὴν οἰκίαν περιελθεῖν—πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ ταῦτα δείγματα μεγαλοδωρίας τῆς ἐμῆς; εἰ δὲ τὸ μὴ ἀληθῆ μηδὲ βέβαιον γίγνεσθαι τὴν τοιαύτην βασιλείαν αἰτιάσει, ἄγνωμον ποιήσεις ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἐμὲ τὸν ταῦτα διανέμοντα ὀλιγοχρόνιον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα. τούτων δ᾽ οὖν ἃ μοι δυνατὰ δοῦναι, τῶν πεττῶν, τοῦ ἄρχειν, τοῦ ᾄδειν καὶ τῶν ἃ κατηριθμησάμην, θαρρῶν αἴτει, ὡς ἐμοῦ πρὸς οὐδὲν δεδιξομένου σε τῇ αἰγίδι καὶ τῷ κεραυνῷ.

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

5 Ἀλλ᾽, ὦ Τιτάνων ἄριστε, *τῶν μὲν τοιούτων οὐ δέομαι, σὺ δὲ ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνό μοι ἀπόκριναι, ὃ μάλιστα ἐπόθουν εἰδέναι, καί μοι ἢν εἴπῃς αὐτό, ἱκανὴν*

[1] ᾆσαι one late MS.: ἅμα other MSS.

trivial to win at dice, and when others are rolling singles always to be turning up sixes yourself. At any rate many men have got themselves more than enough to eat in this sort of way, men to whom the die will give a gracious and generous nod. Then again, there are those who have swum out to safety without a stitch of clothing when their ship has foundered on the die's tiny reef. Again, to drink the most delightful drinks, to be acclaimed a better singer in your cups than the next man, to see the others who serve at table with you thrown into the water as the penalty for their clumsy service while you are proclaimed victor and win the sausage as prize—do you see what a blessing that is? Again, to become sole king of all with a win at the knuckle-bones, so that you not only escape silly orders but can give them yourself, telling one man to shout out something disgraceful about himself, another to dance naked, pick up the flute-girl, and carry her three times round the house —surely this is proof of my generosity? And if you criticise this kingdom as not real or lasting you will be unreasonable when you know that I myself who dispense these blessings have the sovereignty for only a short time. So do not hesitate to ask for any of these things which I can give you: gaming, lordship of the feast, singing and all that I have enumerated, in the assurance that I shall not in any circumstances frighten you with the aegis and the thunderbolt.

PRIEST

Why, best of Titans, I need nothing like that. But answer me this—I have longed to know, and

[2] *καὶ ἀράμενον* N: *παράμενον* Γ.

ἔσει τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποδεδωκὼς ἀντὶ τῆς θυσίας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφίημί σοι τὰ χρέα.

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ

Ἐρώτα μόνον. ἀποκρινοῦμαι γάρ, ἢν εἰδὼς τύχω.

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο, εἰ ἀληθῆ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἃ περὶ σοῦ ἀκούομεν, ὡς κατήσθιες τὰ γεννώμενα ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥέας, ἐκείνη δὲ ὑφελομένη τὸν Δία λίθον ὑποβαλλομένη ἀντὶ τοῦ βρέφους ἔδωκέ σοι καταπιεῖν, ὁ δὲ εἰς ἡλικίαν ἀφικόμενος ἐξήλασέ σε τῆς ἀρχῆς πολέμῳ κρατήσας, εἶτα ἐς τὸν Τάρταρον φέρων ἐνέβαλε πεδήσας αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἅπαν, ὁπόσον μετὰ σοῦ παρετάττετο.

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ

Εἰ μὴ ἑορτήν, ὦ οὗτος, ἤγομεν καὶ μεθύειν ἐφεῖτο καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι[1] τοῖς δεσπόταις ἐπ' ἐξουσίας, ἔγνως ἂν ὡς ὀργίζεσθαι γοῦν ἐφεῖταί μοι, τοιαῦτα ἐρωτήσας, οὐκ αἰδεσθεὶς πολιὸν οὕτω καὶ πρεσβύτην θεόν.

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

Κἀγὼ ταῦτα, ὦ Κρόνε, οὐ παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ φημι, ἀλλ' Ἡσίοδος καὶ Ὅμηρος, ὀκνῶ γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι σχεδὸν ταῦτα πεπιστεύκασι περὶ σοῦ.

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ

6 Οἴει γὰρ τὸν ποιμένα ἐκεῖνον, τὸν ἀλαζόνα, ὑγιές τι περὶ ἐμοῦ εἰδέναι; σκόπει δὲ οὕτως.

[1] λοιδορεῖσθαι N: δωρεῖσθαι Γ.

if you tell me it will be an adequate return for the sacrifice and I release you from future debts.

CRONUS

Just ask what you want. I shall answer if I happen to know.

PRIEST

This first: whether what we often hear about you is true, that you ate up Rhea's children, but she put Zeus out of the way, substituting a stone for you to swallow down instead of the child; then, when he grew up, he beat you in war and drove you from the sovereignty; he took you to Tartarus, put fetters on you and all the allies who sided with you, and threw you in.

CRONUS

If it were not festival-time, my man, and if you weren't allowed to get drunk and cheek your masters with impunity, you would have found out that I'm allowed to be angry at any rate—asking such questions and showing no respect for a grey-haired old god like me!

PRIEST

Now I don't say this on my own, Cronus. Hesiod and Homer say so; I'm not sure that I should tell you that the rest of mankind too believes pretty much the same about you.

CRONUS

Do you imagine that that shepherd, that impostor, has any sound knowledge of me? Look at it this

ἔσθ' ὅστις ἄνθρωπος (οὐ γὰρ θεὸν ἐρῶ) ὑπομείνειεν ἂν ἑκὼν αὐτὸς καταφαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα, εἰ[1] μή τις Θυέστης ὢν ἀσεβεῖ ἀδελφῷ περιπεσὼν ἤσθιε; καὶ εἰ τοῦτο μανείη, πῶς ἀγνοήσει λίθον ἀντὶ βρέφους ἐσθίων, εἰ μὴ ἀνάλγητος εἴη τοὺς ὀδόντας; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐπολεμήσαμεν οὔτε ὁ Ζεὺς βίᾳ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἑκόντος δέ μου παραδόντος αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπεκστάντος, ἄρχει.[2] ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὔτε πεπέδημαι οὔτε ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ εἰμί, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁρᾷς οἶμαι εἰ μὴ τυφλὸς ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος εἶ.

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

7 Τί παθὼν δέ, ὦ Κρόνε, ἀφῆκας τὴν ἀρχήν;

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ

Ἐγώ σοι φράσω. τὸ μὲν ὅλον, γέρων ἤδη καὶ ποδαγρὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου ὤν. διὸ καὶ πεπεδῆσθαί με οἱ πολλοὶ εἴκασαν. οὐ γὰρ ἠδυνάμην διαρκεῖν πρὸς οὕτω πολλὴν τὴν ἀδικίαν τῶν νῦν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ἀναθεῖν ἔδει ἄνω καὶ κάτω τὸν κεραυνὸν διηρμένον τοὺς ἐπιόρκους ἢ ἱεροσύλους ἢ βιαίους καταφλέγοντα, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα πάνυ ἐργῶδες ἦν καὶ νεανικόν. ἐξέστην οὖν εὖ ποιῶν τῷ Διί. καὶ ἄλλως δὲ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει μοι διανείμαντα τοῖς παισὶν οὖσι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν εὐωχεῖσθαι τὰ πολλὰ ἐφ' ἡσυχίας οὔτε τοῖς εὐχομένοις χρηματίζοντα οὔτε ὑπὸ τῶν τἀναντία αἰτούντων ἐνοχλούμενον οὔτε βροντῶντα ἢ ἀστράπτοντα ἢ χάλαζαν

[1] εἰ μή τις Θ. ἦν ἀσεβεῖ ἀδελφῷ περιπεσὼν ἤσθιε καὶ τοῦτο γ' ἂν εἴη X B: εἰ . . . ἦν ἀσεβεῖ περιπεσὼν κἂν τοῦτό γ' ἂν εἴη N. εἰ . . . ἦν ἀσεβείᾳ ἀδελφῷ (ἀδελφῶν A Ω) περιπεσὼν εἴσθιε καὶ τοῦτο μανείη ΓΑΩ: H. ὢν Jacobitz: καὶ εἰ Mras.

way: would any man (I will not say god) put up with eating his own children of his own free will, unless he were some Thyestes fallen foul of an impious brother? Suppose he were as mad as this; then how would he fail to recognise he was eating a stone and not a child, unless he had no feeling in his teeth? No, there was no fighting, nor does Zeus rule his empire by force; I handed it to him and abdicated quite voluntarily. That I am neither in chains nor in Tartarus I suppose you see for yourself, unless you are as blind as Homer.

PRIEST

Why ever did you let the sovereignty go, Cronus?

CRONUS

I will tell you. In brief it was because I was old and gouty owing to my years. That is why people suppose that I had been put into chains. I hadn't the strength to deal with all the injustice of the present generation, but I had to run up and down with my thunderbolt at the ready, setting fire to perjurers, temple-robbers, or men of violence; the whole business was very strenuous and needed a young man's energy. So I abdicated, thank goodness, in favour of Zeus. Besides, I thought it a good idea to divide the kingdom between my sons, and for myself to spend most of my time in quiet enjoyment of the good things of life, not engaged with people making vows or annoyed by those who make contradictory requests, neither thundering nor lightening nor

[2] τὴν ἀρχὴν . . ἄρχει Γ: τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείλετο . . . ἄρχειν N.

ἐνίοτε βάλλειν ἀναγκαζόμενον· ἀλλὰ πρεσβυτικόν τινα τοῦτον ἥδιστον βίον διάγω ζωρότερον πίνων τὸ νέκταρ, τῷ Ἰαπετῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἡλικιώταις προσμυθολογῶν· ὁ δὲ ἄρχει μυρία ἔχων πράγματα. πλὴν ὀλίγας ταύτας ἡμέρας ἐφ᾽ οἷς εἶπον ὑπεξελέσθαι μοι ἔδοξε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνω τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς ὑπομνήσαιμι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οἷος ἦν ὁ ἐπ᾽ ἐμοῦ βίος, ὁπότε ἄσπορα καὶ ἀνήροτα πάντα ἐφύετο αὐτοῖς, οὐ στάχυες, ἀλλ᾽ ἕτοιμος ἄρτος καὶ κρέα ἐσκευασμένα, καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἔρρει ποταμηδὸν καὶ πηγαὶ μέλιτος καὶ γάλακτος· ἀγαθοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ χρυσοῖ ἅπαντες. αὕτη μοι ἡ αἰτία τῆς ὀλιγοχρονίου ταύτης δυναστείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἁπανταχοῦ κρότος καὶ ᾠδὴ καὶ παιδιὰ καὶ ἰσοτιμία πᾶσι καὶ δούλοις καὶ ἐλευθέροις. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἐμοῦ δοῦλος ἦν.

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

8 Ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ Κρόνε, καὶ τοῦτο εἴκαζον τὸ [1] εἰς τοὺς δούλους καὶ πεδότριβας [2] φιλάνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ μυθου ἐκείνου ποιεῖν σε τιμῶντα τοὺς τὰ ὅμοια πάσχοντας, ἅτε καὶ αὐτὸν δουλεύοντα, μεμνημένον τῆς πέδης.

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ

Οὐ παύσῃ γὰρ τοιαῦτα λῃρῶν;

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

Εὖ λέγεις, καὶ παύσομαι. πλὴν ἔτι μοι καὶ τοῦτο ἀπόκριναι. τὸ πεττεύειν σύνηθες ἦν τοῖς ἐπὶ σοῦ ἀνθρώποις;

[1] τὸ add Jacobitz.

having to throw hail occasionally. No, I live this pleasant life of an old man, drinking stiff nectar and chatting with Iapetus and my other cronies, and Zeus is king with all the worry. Nevertheless I thought it best to filch these few days on the terms I mentioned, and I take over the sovereignty again to remind mankind what life was like under me, when everything grew for them without sowing and without ploughing—not ears of wheat, but loaves ready-baked and meats ready-cooked. Wine flowed like a river, and there were springs of honey and milk; for everyone was good, pure gold. This is the reason for my short-lived dominion, and why everywhere there is clapping and singing and playing games, and everyone, slave and free man, is held as good as his neighbour. There was no slavery, you see, in my time.

PRIEST

Well, Cronus, I had assumed from the story that this humanity you showed to slaves and those in chains was to do honour to men whose sufferings had been like your own, since you yourself had been a slave and you were remembering your chains.

CRONUS

Oh, stop that silly talk.

PRIEST

You are right. I will stop. But answer me another question. Was it customary for men to gamble in your time?

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[2] *πεδότριβας* two late MSS. : *παιδοτρίβας* other MSS.

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα, οὐ μὴν περὶ ταλάντων γε καὶ μυριάδων ὥσπερ ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ περὶ καρύων τὸ μέγιστον, ὡς μὴ ἀνιᾶσθαι ἡττηθέντα μηδὲ δακρύειν ἀεὶ ἄσιτον ὄντα μόνον τῶν ἄλλων.

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

Εὖ γε ἐκεῖνοι ποιοῦντες. ὑπὲρ τίνος γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐπέττευον αὐτοὶ ὁλόχρυσοι ὄντες; ὡς ἔγωγε καὶ μεταξὺ λέγοντός σου τοιόνδε τι ἐνενόησα· εἴ τις ἕνα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῶν χρυσηλάτων ἐς τὸν ἡμέτερον τοῦτον βίον ἀγαγὼν ἔδειξε τοῖς πολλοῖς, οἷα ἔπαθεν ἂν ὁ[1] *ἄθλιος ὑπ' αὐτῶν; διεσπάσαντο γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἐπιδραμόντες ὥσπερ τὸν Πενθέα αἱ Μαινάδες ἢ αἱ Θρᾷτται τὸν Ὀρφέα ἢ τὸν Ἀκταίωνα αἱ κύνες, περὶ τοῦ μεῖζον ἀπενέγκασθαι τὸ μέρος πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἕκαστος ἁμιλλώμενοι, οἵ γε οὐδὲ ἑορτάζοντες ἔξω τοῦ φιλοκερδοῦς εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ πρόσοδον οἱ πολλοὶ πεποίηνται τὴν ἑορτήν. εἶτα οἱ μὲν ἀπέρχονται λῃστεύοντες ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ τοὺς φίλους, οἱ δέ σοί τε λοιδοροῦνται, οὐδὲν δέον, καὶ τοὺς κύβους*[2] *συντρίβουσιν ἀναιτίους ὄντας αὐτοῖς ὧν ἑκόντες*
9 *ποιοῦσιν. ἀτὰρ εἰπέ μοι καὶ τόδε· τί δή ποτε ἁβρὸς οὕτω θεὸς ὢν καὶ γέρων ἐπιλεξάμενος τὸ ἀτερπέστατον, ὁπότε ἡ χιὼν ἐπέχει τὰ πάντα καὶ ὁ βορρᾶς πολὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ πέπηγεν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους καὶ τὰ δένδρα ξηρὰ καὶ γυμνὰ καὶ ἄφυλλα καὶ οἱ λειμῶνες ἄμορφοι καὶ ἀπηνθηκότες καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπικεκυφότες ὥσπερ οἱ πάνυ γεγηρακότες, ἀμφὶ τὴν κάμινον οἱ πολλοί, τηνικαῦτα*

CRONUS

Certainly. But not for talents and thousands of drachmas as you do. No, nuts were the highest stake. Then there was no heart-break if a man was beaten, or floods of tears because he alone had lost the price of a meal.

PRIEST

How wise they were! What could their stakes be when they were pure gold themselves? But while you were talking I thought of something: suppose one of your men of beaten gold had been brought into our world for everyone to see, what a bad time the poor wretch would have had at people's hands! They would have certainly rushed at him and torn him limb from limb, as the Maenads tore Pentheus, the Thracians Orpheus, and the dogs Actaeon, vying with each other to carry off the biggest piece. Not even at festival-time are they free from greed for gain. Indeed most of them have made your festival a source of revenue. Some of them go off and rob their friends at the banquet; others revile you when they ought not and smash the dice, which are certainly not responsible for what they do of their own free will. But tell me this as well: why, when you are such a soft-living god and old at that, have you chosen the most unpleasant time of the year, when the snow covers everything, the North wind is strong, everything is frozen, trees are withered and bare and leafless, fields are ugly and without bloom, and men are bent like old, old men, most of them hard by the

[1] ὁ add. Jacobitz. [2] κυβέρνους Γ.

ἑορτάζεις; οὐ γὰρ πρεσβυτικός γε ὁ καιρὸς οὐδὲ ἐπιτήδειος τοῖς τρυφῶσι.

ΚΡΟΝΟΣ

Πολλά με ἀνακρίνεις, ὦ οὗτος, ἤδη πίνειν δέον. παρῄρησαι γοῦν μου χρόνον τῆς ἑορτῆς οὐκ ὀλίγον οὐ πάνυ ἀναγκαῖά μοι ταῦτα προσφιλοσοφῶν. ὥστε νῦν μὲν ἄφες αὐτά. εὐωχώμεθα δὲ ἤδη καὶ κροτῶμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἤδη ζῶμεν, εἶτα πεττεύωμεν ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπὶ καρύων καὶ βασιλέας χειροτονῶμεν καὶ πειθαρχῶμεν αὐτοῖς. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τὴν παροιμίαν ἐπαληθεύσαιμι, ἥ φησι παλίμπαιδας τοὺς γέροντας γίγνεσθαι.

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ

Ἀλλὰ μὴ δύναιτο διψῶν πιεῖν, ὦ Κρόνε, ὅτῳ μὴ ταῦτα ἃ λέγεις ἡδέα. ὥστε πίνωμεν. ἱκανὰ γὰρ ἀποκέκρισαι καὶ τὰ πρῶτα. καί μοι δοκῶ γραψάμενος εἰς βιβλίον ταύτην ἡμῶν τὴν συνουσίαν ἅ τε αὐτὸς ἠρώτησα καὶ σὺ πρὸς ταῦτα ἵλεως ἀπεκρίνω παρέξειν ἀναγνῶναι τῶν φίλων, ὅσοι γ' ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν σῶν λόγων ἄξιοι.

ΚΡΟΝΟΣΟΛΩΝ

10 Τάδε λέγει Κρονοσόλων ἱερεὺς καὶ προφήτης τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ νομοθέτης τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν ἑορτήν.

Ἃ μὲν τοὺς πένητας χρὴ ποιεῖν, αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἔπεμψα ἄλλο βιβλίον, ἐγγράψας, καὶ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἐμμενοῦσι κἀκεῖνοι τοῖς νόμοις, ἢ αὐτίκα ἔνοχοι ἔσονται τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις, ἃ κατὰ τῶν ἀπειθούντων μεγάλα ὥρισται.

stove? The season is not good for the old or for lovers of easy living.

CRONUS

You are asking me a lot of questions, my man, when I ought to be already drinking. In fact you've robbed me of quite a bit of my festival with all these completely unnecessary speculations. So let them be for now and let us enjoy ourselves, clap hands, and live on freedom's terms at this festival-time. Then let's dice in the old way for nuts, vote for our kings and obey them. So I will prove the truth of the proverb which says that for old men there comes a second childhood.

PRIEST

Well, Cronus, never may anyone who doesn't approve of what you say be able to get a drink when he is thirsty! Then let us drink! Your first answer was quite enough. I think I shall write down this conversation of ours in a book, both what I asked and what you so kindly answered, and I'll give it to my friends to read, at any rate those who deserve to hear what you have said.

CRONOSOLON

Thus says Cronosolon,[1] priest and prophet of Cronus, and giver of laws for his festival.

What the poor must do I have written in another book and sent to them, and I am well assured that they will abide by the laws, or else they will at once be liable to the severe penalties appointed for disobedience.

[1] Named after Solon, lawgiver of Athens.

Ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ πλούσιοι, ὁρᾶτε πῶς μὴ παρανομήσητε μηδὲ παρακούσητε τῶνδε τῶν προσταγμάτων. ὡς ὅστις ἂν οὕτω μὴ ποιήσῃ, ἴστω οὗτος οὐκ ἐμοῦ νομοθέτου ἀμελήσων ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν Κρόνον αὐτόν, ὅς με προείλετο νομοθετῆσαι ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν οὐκ ὄναρ ἐπιστάς, ἀλλὰ πρῴην ἐγρηγορότι ἐναργὴς συγγενόμενος. ἦν δὲ οὐ πεδήτης οὐδὲ αὐχμοῦ πλέως, οἷον αὐτὸν οἱ ζωγράφοι παρὰ τῶν λήρων τῶν ποιητῶν παραδεξάμενοι ἐπιδείκνυνται, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἅρπην εἶχεν πάνυ τεθηγμένην. τὰ δ' ἄλλα φαιδρός τε ἦν καὶ καρτερὸς καὶ βασιλικῶς ἐνεσκεύαστο. μορφὴν μὲν τοιόσδε ὤφθη μοι, ἃ δὲ εἶπε, πάνυ θεσπέσια καὶ ταῦτα, προειρῆσθαι ὑμῖν ἄξια.

11 *Ἰδὼν γάρ με σκυθρωπόν, ἐπὶ συννοίας βαδίζοντα, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν θεόν, ἔγνω αὐτίκα τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς λύπης τίς ἐστί μοι, καὶ ὡς τὴν πενίαν δυσχεραίνοιμι οὐ κατὰ τὴν ὥραν μονοχίτων· καὶ γὰρ κρύος καὶ βορρᾶς πολὺς καὶ κρύσταλλοι καὶ χιών· ἐγὼ δὲ ἥκιστα ἐπεφράγμην πρὸς αὐτά· ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς πάνυ πλησιαζούσης ἑώρων τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους παρασκευαζομένους ὅπως θύσωσι καὶ εὐωχήσωνται, ἐμαυτῷ δὲ οὐ πάνυ ἑορτάσιμα ὄντα. καὶ δὴ προσελθὼν ὄπισθε καὶ τοῦ ὠτός μου λαβόμενος καὶ διασείσας, ὥσπερ μοι προσπελάζειν*[1] *εἴωθε, Τί ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὦ Κρονοσόλων, ἀνιωμένῳ ἔοικας; Οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον, ἔφην, ὦ δέσποτα, ὅταν καταράτους μὲν καὶ μιαροὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπερπλουτοῦντας καὶ μόνους τρυφῶντας ὁρῶ, αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ἀμηχανίᾳ σύνεσμεν; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ σύ, ὦ δέσποτα, θέλεις παῦσαι ταῦτα καὶ*

But you who are rich, see that you do not transgress the law or hear these commands amiss. Whoever acts otherwise, let him know that it is not I, the lawgiver, whom he slights, but he does injury to Cronus himself, who has appointed me lawgiver of his festival, appearing before me in no dream, but conversing with me in bodily shape the other day when I was fully awake. He was not in fetters, nor was he shabby, as the painters show him, following the ravings of the poets. No, he had his sickle full-whetted; he was all radiance and strength, and his garb was that of a king. Such was his appearance when he was seen by me. What he said equally showed his divinity and may be told you by way of preface.

Seeing me morose and walking deep in thought, he knew at once, as became a god, the reason for my grief, namely that I was cross because of my poverty, having but a single cloak, not enough for the season; for it was cold with a strong north-wind, ice and snow, and I had little defence against these things; and then since the festival was almost at hand, I saw other people getting ready their sacrifices and feasts, and I had little that makes for festival-time. Well, he came up from behind, took me by the ear, and shook me (his usual way of accosting me), and said: "Why are you looking so downhearted, Cronosolon?" "Haven't I every reason, master, when I see disgusting and filthy rogues unbelievably rich and alone leading a comfortable life, while I and many another educated man know poverty and despair as companions? But even you, master, won't put a stop to these things and make a more equitable

[1] προσπελάζειν Guyet: προσεικάζειν MSS.

μετακοσμῆσαι πρὸς τὸ ἰσόμοιρον. Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ἔφη, οὐ ῥάδιον ἀλλάττειν ὁπόσα ἐκ Κλωθοῦς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μοιρῶν πάσχετε, ἃ δέ ἐστι τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἐπανορθώσομαι ὑμῖν τὴν πενίαν. ἡ δὲ ἐπανόρθωσις ἥδε ἔστω· ἴθι, ὦ Κρονοσόλων, καὶ γράψον μοι νόμους τινάς, ἃ χρὴ πράττειν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, ὡς μὴ καθ' αὐτοὺς οἱ πλούσιοι ἑορτάζοιεν, κοινωνοῖεν δὲ ὑμῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν. Ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα, ἔφην.

12 Ἐγώ, ἦ δ' ὅς, διδάξομαί σε· κᾆτα ἀρξάμενος ἐδίδασκεν. εἶτα ἐπειδὴ πάντα ἠπιστάμην, Καὶ εἰπὲ αὐτοῖς, ἔφη, ὅτι ἢν μὴ τοῦτο ποιῶσι, μὴ [1] μάτην ἐγὼ τὴν ἅρπην ταύτην ὀξεῖαν περιφέρω, ἢ γελοῖος ἂν εἴην τὸν μὲν πατέρα ἐκτομίαν πεποιηκὼς τὸν Οὐρανόν, τοὺς δὲ πλουσίους μὴ εὐνουχίζων, ὁπόσοι ἂν παρανομήσωσιν, ὡς ἀγείροιεν τῇ μητρὶ σὺν αὐλοῖς καὶ τυμπάνοις βάκηλοι γενόμενοι. ταῦτα ἠπείλησεν. ὥστε καλῶς ἔχει ὑμῖν μὴ παραβαίνειν τοὺς θεσμούς.

1. ΝΟΜΟΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΙ

13 Μηδένα μηδὲν μήτε ἀγοραῖον μήτε ἴδιον πράττειν ἐντὸς τῆς ἑορτῆς ἢ ὅσα ἐς παιδιὰν καὶ τρυφὴν καὶ θυμηδίαν· ὀψοποιοὶ μόνοι καὶ πεμματουργοὶ ἐνεργοὶ ἔστωσαν.

Ἰσοτιμία πᾶσιν ἔστω καὶ δούλοις καὶ ἐλευθέροις καὶ πένησι καὶ πλουσίοις.

Ὀργίζεσθαι ἢ ἀγανακτεῖν ἢ ἀπειλεῖν μηδενὶ ἐξέστω.

Λογισμοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐπιμελουμένων Κρονίοις λαμβάνειν μηδὲ τοῦτο ἐξέστω.

[1] μὴ add. Solanus.

arrangement." "Generally speaking," he said, "it's not easy to change the lot that Clotho and the other Fates assign you, but as far as the needs of the festival go I shall set your poverty right. This is how I shall do it: go, Cronosolon, and write me laws on conduct during the festival, so that the rich may not keep private festival but share their good things with you." "I do not know the laws," I said. "I will instruct you," said he, and he set to. Then, when I had learnt them all, he said, "And tell them that if they are disobedient it's not for nothing that I carry this sharp sickle here—I should be a fool to have castrated my own father, Uranus, and yet not make eunuchs of the rich who break my laws, making them servants of the Great Mother [1] and collectors for her, complete with flutes and cymbals." That was his threat. So you had better not transgress his ordinances.

1. FIRST LAWS

No one is to do any business, public or private, during the festival, except what pertains to sport, luxurious living and entertainment: cooks and confectioners alone shall work.

Let every man be treated equal, slave and freeman, poor and rich.

No one may be ill-tempered or cross or threaten anybody.

No one may audit accounts during the festival of Cronus.

[1] Cybele.

Μηδεὶς τὸν ἄργυρον ἢ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐξεταζέτω μηδὲ ἀναγραφέτω ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ μηδὲ γυμναζέσθω Κρονίοις μηδὲ λόγους ἀσκεῖν ἢ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, πλὴν εἴ τινες ἀστεῖοι καὶ φαιδροὶ σκῶμμα καὶ παιδιὰν ἐμφαίνοντες.

2. ΝΟΜΟΙ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΙ

14 Πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς ἑορτῆς οἱ πλούσιοι γραφόντων μὲν ἐς πινάκιον ἑκάστου τῶν φίλων τοὔνομα, ἐχόντων δὲ καὶ ἀργύριον ἕτοιμον ὅσον τῶν κατ' ἔτος προσιόντων τὸ δέκατον καὶ ἐσθῆτα τῆς οὔσης τὴν περιττὴν καὶ ὅση παχυτέρα ἢ κατ' αὐτοὺς κατασκευή, καὶ τῶν ἀργυρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα. ταῦτα μὲν πρόχειρα ἔστω.

Τῇ δὲ πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς καθάρσιον μέν τι περιφερέσθω καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξελαυνέσθω ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας μικρολογία καὶ φιλαργυρία καὶ φιλοκερδία καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ἄλλα σύνοικα τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν.

Ἐπειδὰν δὲ καθαρὰν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐξεργάσωνται, θυόντων Διὶ πλουτοδότῃ καὶ Ἑρμῇ δώτορι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι μεγαλοδώρῳ.

Εἶτα περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν ἀναγινωσκέσθω μὲν
15 σφίσι τὸ φιλικὸν ἐκεῖνο πινάκιον. κατανείμαντες δὲ αὐτοὶ κατ' ἀξίαν ἑκάστῳ πρὶν ἥλιον δῦναι πεμπόντων τοῖς φίλοις. οἱ δὲ ἀποκομίζοντες μὴ πλείους τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, οἱ πιστότατοι τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἤδη πρεσβῦται. ἐγγραψάσθω δὲ ἐς γραμμάτιον ὅ τι τὸ πεμπόμενον καὶ ὅσον, ὡς μὴ ἀμφότεροι ὑποπτεύοιεν τοὺς διακομίζοντας. αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ οἰκέται μίαν κύλικα ἕκαστος πιόντες ἀποτρεχόντων, ἀπαιτούντων δὲ μηδὲν πλέον. Τοῖς πεπαι-

No one may inspect or list his silver or clothing during the festival, nor take part in athletics, nor practise public-speaking, nor deliver lectures, except wits and jolly fellows purveying jokes and entertainment.

2. SECOND LAWS

Long before the festival the rich shall write on a tablet the name of each of their friends, and shall hold in readiness the cash value of a tenth of their yearly income, any surplus clothing they possess, furniture too crude for them, and a good proportion of their silver. They shall keep this ready at hand.

On the day before the festival a purificatory sacrifice shall be carried round, and they shall purge their houses of meanness, avarice, greed, and all such vices that dwell with most of them.

When they have purified the house, they shall sacrifice to Zeus the Giver of Wealth, Hermes the Bestower, and Apollo of the Great Gifts.

Then in the late afternoon, that list of friends shall be read to them. They shall divide the gifts according to each man's worth, and before sunset send them to their friends. The bearers shall not exceed three or four, the most trustworthy of their servants, well advanced in years. The nature and quantity of what is sent shall be written on a slip, that neither party may suspect the bearers. Each servant shall drink one cup and then run off and make no more demands. To men of letters double quantities shall

δευμένοις διπλάσια πάντα πεμπέσθω· ἄξιον γὰρ διμοιρίτας εἶναι. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις λεγόμενα ὡς μετριώτατα καὶ ὀλίγιστα ἔστω. ἐπαχθὲς δὲ μηδεὶς μηδὲν συνεπιστελλέτω μηδὲ ἐπαινείτω τὰ πεμπόμενα.

Πλούσιος πλουσίῳ μηδὲν πεμπέτω μηδὲ ἑστιάτω Κρονίοις ὁ πλούσιος τὸν ἰσότιμον. τῶν εἰς τὸ πεμφθῆναι προχειρισθέντων φυλασσέσθω μηδὲν μηδὲ μετάνοια εἰσίτω ἐπὶ τῇ δωρεᾷ.

Εἴ τις πέρυσιν ἀποδημῶν δι' αὐτὸ ἄμοιρος κατέστη, ἀπολαμβανέτω κἀκεῖνα.

Διαλυόντων δὲ οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ χρέα ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων τῶν πενήτων καὶ τὸ ἐνοίκιον, οἵτινες ἂν καὶ τοῦτο ὀφείλοντες καταβαλεῖν μὴ ἔχωσι. καὶ ὅλως, πρὸ πολλοῦ μελέτω αὐτοῖς εἰδέναι ὅτου μάλιστα δέονται.

16 Ἀπέστω δὲ καὶ τῶν λαμβανόντων μεμψιμοιρία, καὶ τὸ πεμφθὲν ὁποῖον ἂν ᾖ, μέγα δοκείτω. οἴνου ἀμφορεὺς ἢ λαγὼς ἢ ὄρνις παχεῖα Κρονίων δῶρον μὴ δοκείτω, μηδὲ τὰς Κρονικὰς δωρεὰς εἰς γέλωτα φερέτωσαν.

Ἀντιπεμπέτω δὲ ὁ πένης τῷ πλουσίῳ ὁ μὲν πεπαιδευμένος βιβλίον τῶν παλαιῶν, εἴ τι εὔφημον καὶ συμποτικόν, ἢ αὑτοῦ σύγγραμμα ὁποῖον ἂν δύνηται, καὶ τοῦτο λαμβανέτω ὁ πλούσιος πάνυ φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ λαβὼν ἀναγινωσκέτω εὐθύς. Ἢν δὲ ἀπωθῆται ἢ ἀπορρίψῃ, ἴστω τῇ τῆς ἅρπης ἀπειλῇ ἔνοχος ὤν, κἂν πέμψῃ ὅσα ἐχρῆν. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οἱ μὲν στεφάνους, οἱ δὲ λιβανωτοῦ χόνδρους πεμπόντων.

Ἢν δὲ πένης ἐσθῆτα ἢ ἄργυρον ἢ χρυσὸν παρὰ τὴν δύναμιν πέμψῃ πλουσίῳ, τὸ μὲν πεμφθὲν ἔστω

be sent; they deserve a double share. The messages with the gifts shall be as modest and brief as possible. No one shall send an odious message with them, or cry up what is sent.

Rich man shall not send to rich man or at Cronus's festival entertain anyone of equal standing. He shall keep nothing of what is already prepared for sending, nor change his mind about a gift.

Anyone who the year before missed his share through absence shall be given it now as an extra gift.

The rich shall pay debts for their impecunious friends (including their rent if they owe this too and cannot pay). In general they shall make it their business to know long beforehand what is their greatest need.

Those who receive shall not complain, but think the gift, whatever it is, generous. A jar of wine, a hare, or a plump bird shall not be reckoned a gift for Cronus's festival, nor shall Cronian gifts be laughed at.

In return the poor scholar shall send the rich man any pleasant, convivial, old book he may have, or a work of his own, the best he can. The rich man shall receive this gift with a glad countenance and then read it at once. If he rejects it or throws it away, he shall know that he is liable to what the sickle threatens, even if what he sends is adequate. The other poor recipients shall send garlands of flowers or grains of frankincense.

If a poor man sends clothing or silver or gold beyond his means to a rich man, his gift shall be de-

δημόσιον καὶ καταπραθὲν ἐμβαλλέσθω εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ Κρόνου, ὁ δὲ πένης ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν πληγὰς παρὰ τοῦ πλουσίου λαμβανέτω τῷ νάρθηκι εἰς τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἐλάττους διακοσίων καὶ πεντήκοντα.

3. ΝΟΜΟΙ ΣΥΜΠΟΤΙΚΟΙ

17 Λούεσθαι μὲν ὁπόταν τὸ στοιχεῖον ἑξάπουν ᾖ, τὰ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ λουτροῦ κάρυα καὶ πεσσοὶ ἔστωσαν.

Κατακείσθω ὅπου ἂν τύχῃ ἕκαστος. ἀξίωμα ἢ γένος ἢ πλοῦτος ὀλίγον συντελείτω ἐς προνομήν.

Οἴνου τοῦ αὐτοῦ πίνειν ἅπαντας, μηδ' ἔστω πρόφασις τῷ πλουσίῳ ἢ στομάχου ἢ κεφαλῆς ὀδύνη, ὡς μόνον δι' αὐτὴν πίνειν τοῦ κρείττονος.

Μοῖρα κρεῶν κατ'[1] ἴσον ἅπασιν. οἱ διάκονοι πρὸς χάριν μηδενὶ μηδέν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ βραδυνέτωσαν μηδὲ παραπεμπέσθωσαν ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ, ὁπόσα χρὴ ἀποφέρειν. μηδὲ τῷ μὲν μεγάλα, τῷ δὲ κομιδῇ μικρὰ παρατιθέσθω, μηδὲ τῷ μὲν ὁ μηρός, τῷ δὲ ἡ γνάθος συός, ἀλλ' ἰσότης ἐπὶ πᾶσιν.

18 Ὁ οἰνοχόος ὀξὺ δεδορκέτω ἐκ περιωπῆς ἐς ἕκαστον, καὶ ἔλαττον ἐς τὸν δεσπότην, καὶ ἐπ' ὀξύτερον ἀκουέτω, καὶ κύλικες παντοῖαι. καὶ ἐξέστω παρέχειν, ἤν τις ἐθέλῃ, φιλοτησίαν. πάντες πᾶσι προπινέτωσαν, ἢν ἐθέλωσι, προπιόντος τοῦ πλουσίου. μὴ ἐπάναγκες ἔστω πίνειν, ἤν τις μὴ δύνηται.

Ἐς τὸ συμπόσιον μήτε ὀρχηστὴν μήτε κιθαρισ-

[1] κατ' Schaefer: καὶ Γ: om. N.

clared public property and sold, the money going into the treasury of Cronus; and the poor man on the next day shall receive from the rich man strokes on his hands with a cane to the number of not less than two hundred and fifty.

3. LAWS FOR BANQUETS

The time for bathing shall be when the shadow of the sundial is six feet long; before the bath there shall be nuts and gaming.

Each man shall take the couch where he happens to be. Rank, family, or wealth shall have little influence on privilege.

All shall drink the same wine, and neither stomach trouble nor headache shall give the rich man an excuse for being the only one to drink the better quality.

All shall have their meat on equal terms. The waiters shall not show favour to anyone, but shall neither be too slow nor be dismissed until the guests choose what they are to take home. Neither are large portions to be placed before one and tiny ones before another, nor a ham for one and a pig's jaw for another—all must be treated equally.

The man who pours the wine shall keep a sharp eye on each guest from a vantage-point; he shall pay less attention to his master, and his ears shall be sharper than usual. The cups shall be of all kinds. It shall be permissible to pass a loving-cup, if desired. Everyone shall drink to everyone else, if desired, when the rich man has set the example. No one shall be made to drink if he cannot.

It shall not be permissible for anyone who wishes it

τὴν αὐτοὺς ἄγειν ἄρτι μανθάνοντα[1] ἐξέστω, ἤν τις ἐθέλῃ.

Σκώμματος μέτρον ἔστω τὸ ἄλυπον ἐπὶ πᾶσιν.

Πεττευέτωσαν ἐπὶ καρύων. ἤν τις ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ πεττεύσῃ, ἄσιτος ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἔστω.

Καὶ μενέτω καὶ ἀπίτω ἕκαστος, ὁπόταν βούληται.

'Επὰν δὲ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὁ πλούσιος εὐωχῇ, διακονούντων καὶ οἱ φίλοι σὺν αὐτῷ.

Τοὺς νόμους τούτους ἕκαστον τῶν πλουσίων ἐγγράψαντα ἐς χαλκῆν στήλην ἔχειν ἐν μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς αὐλῆς, καὶ ἀναγινωσκέτω. δεῖ δὲ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἔστ' ἂν αὕτη ἡ στήλη μένῃ, οὔτε λιμὸς οὔτε λοιμὸς οὔτε πυρκαϊὰ οὔτε ἄλλο χαλεπὸν οὐδὲν εἴσεισιν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῖς. ἢν δέ ποτε—ὅπερ μὴ γένοιτο—καθαιρεθῇ, ἀποτρόπαιον οἷα πείσονται.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ ΚΡΟΝΙΚΑΙ

1. ΕΓΩ ΚΡΟΝΩΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

19 'Εγεγράφειν μὲν ἤδη σοι καὶ πρότερον δηλῶν ἐν οἷς εἴην καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ πενίας κινδυνεύοιμι μόνος ἄμοιρος εἶναι τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἣν ἐπήγγελκας, ἔτι καὶ τοῦτο προσθεὶς—μέμνημαι γάρ—ἀλογώτατον εἶναι τοὺς μὲν ἡμῶν ὑπερπλουτεῖν καὶ τρυφᾶν οὐ κοινωνοῦντας ὧν ἔχουσι τοῖς πενεστέροις, τοὺς δὲ λιμῷ διαφθείρεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα Κρονίων ἐνεστώτων. ἐπεὶ δέ μοι τότε οὐδὲν ἀντεπέστειλας, ἡγησάμην δεῖν αὖθις ἀναμνῆσαί σε τῶν αὐτῶν. ἐχρῆν γάρ σε, ὦ ἄριστε Κρόνε, τὸ ἄνισον τοῦτο ἀφελόντα καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐς τὸ μέσον ἅπασι καταθέντα ἔπειτα

[1] L. A. Post proposes ⟨ἀλλ'⟩ ἄρτι μανθάνοντα.

to introduce into the banquet a dancer or lyre-player who is still learning.

Jesting shall be limited in all cases to what is inoffensive.

All gambling shall be for nuts. If anyone gambles for money he shall go without food for the next day.

Each guest shall stay and go as he likes.

When a rich man gives a banquet to his servants, his friends shall aid him in waiting on them.

Every rich man shall inscribe these laws on a slab of bronze and keep it in the centre of his hall, and read them. And it must be realised that as long as this slab shall last neither famine nor plague nor fire nor any other harm shall come to their house. May it never be taken down! For if it is, Heaven avert what is in store for them!

CORRESPONDENCE WITH CRONUS

1. MYSELF TO CRONUS—GREETINGS!

I wrote to you earlier telling you what my position was and how my poverty made it likely that I alone should have no share in the festival which you proclaimed, adding this, I remember, that it was most unreasonable for some of us to have too much wealth and live in luxury and not share what they have with those who are poorer than they while others are dying of hunger, and that too when the festival of Cronus is near. Since you sent no reply then, I have thought it necessary to remind you of it again. You ought, my dear Cronus, to have abolished this inequality, made the good things accessible to everyone, and

κελεύειν ἑορτάζειν. ὡς δὲ νῦν ἔχομεν, μύρμηξ ἢ κάμηλος, ὡς ἡ παροιμία φησί. μᾶλλον δὲ τραγικὸν ὑποκριτὴν ἐννόησον θατέρῳ μὲν τοῖν ποδοῖν ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ βεβηκότα, οἷοί εἰσι τραγικοὶ ἐμβάται, ὁ δ' ἕτερος ἀνυπόδητος ἔστω. εἰ τοίνυν βαδίζοι οὕτως ἔχων, ὁρᾷς ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῷ ἄρτι μὲν ὑψηλῷ, ἄρτι δὲ ταπεινῷ γενέσθαι, καθ' ὁπότερον ἂν πόδα προβαίνῃ. τοσοῦτον κἀν τῷ βίῳ ἡμῶν τὸ ἄνισον· καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑποδησάμενοι ἐμβάτας τῆς τύχης χορηγούσης ἐντραγῳδοῦσιν ἡμῖν, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ πεζῇ καὶ χαμαὶ βαδίζομεν δυνάμενοι ἄν, εὖ ἴσθι, μὴ χεῖρον αὐτῶν ὑποκρίνεσθαι καὶ διαβαίνειν, εἴ τις καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνεσκεύασε παραπλησίως ἐκείνοις.

20 Καίτοι ἀκούω τῶν ποιητῶν λεγόντων ὡς τὸ παλαιὸν οὐ τοιαῦτα ἦν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ πράγματα σοῦ ἔτι μοναρχοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν γῆ ἄσπορος καὶ ἀνήροτος ἔφυεν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀγαθά, δεῖπνον ἕτοιμον ἑκάστῳ ἐς κόρον, ποταμοὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν οἶνον, οἱ δὲ γάλα, εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ μέλι ἔρρεον. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους φασὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους χρυσοῦς εἶναι, πενίαν δὲ μηδὲ τὸ παράπαν αὐτοῖς πλησιάζειν. ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδὲ μόλυβδος ἂν εἰκότως δοκοίημεν, ἀλλ' εἴ τι καὶ τούτου ἀτιμότερον, ἡ τροφὴ δὲ μετὰ πόνων τοῖς πλείστοις, ἡ πενία δὲ καὶ ἀπορία καὶ ἀμηχανία καὶ τὸ οἴμοι καὶ τὸ πόθεν ἄν μοι γένοιτο καὶ ὦ τῆς τύχης πολλὰ τοιαῦτα παρὰ γοῦν ἡμῖν τοῖς πένησι.

Καὶ ἧττον ἄν, εὖ ἴσθι, ἠνιώμεθα ἂν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὴ τοὺς πλουσίους ἑωρῶμεν τοσαύτῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ συνόντας, οἳ τοσοῦτον μὲν χρυσόν, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἄργυρον ἐγκλεισάμενοι, ἐσθῆτας δὲ ὅσας ἔχοντες, ἀνδράποδα δὲ καὶ ζεύγη καὶ συνοικίας καὶ ἀγρούς,

then bid the festival begin. As we now are it is a case of " ant or camel ", as the saying has it.[1] Better still, imagine a tragic actor with one foot on something high, like a tragic buskin, and let the other be unshod. Now if anyone were to walk like this you can see he would have to be up in the air at one moment and down again at the next according to whichever foot he is putting forward. Inequality in human life is the same: some put on the buskins which our producer Luck supplies and strut the human stage, but the rank and file of us go unshod on the earth below, though we could play a part and stride the boards no worse than they, you may be sure, if anyone had decked us out like them.

Indeed I hear the poets saying that things were not like that in old times when you were still lord. No, the earth produced its good things for the folk without sowing and without ploughing, an ample meal ready to each man's hand; the rivers flowed some with wine, some with milk, and others again with honey. And, above all, they say the men themselves were gold and poverty was nowhere near. As for us, we could not even be thought of as lead, but something meaner, if such there be; and for most of us food is won with toil; and poverty, want, and helplessness, and " alas! ", and " how can I get it? ", and " oh, what bad luck! " and such exclamations are plentiful, at least among us poor.

We should be less distressed about it, you may be sure, if we did not see the rich living in such bliss, who, though they have such gold, such silver in their safes, though they have all that clothing and own slaves and carriage-horses and tenements and farms,

[1] i.e. there are only the very rich or the very poor.

πάμπολλα δὲ ταῦτα ἕκαστα κεκτημένοι οὐχ ὅπως μετέδοσαν ἡμῖν ποτε αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ προσβλέπειν
21 τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀξιοῦσι. ταῦτα ἡμᾶς μάλιστα ἀποπνίγει, ὦ Κρόνε, καὶ ἀφόρητον ἡγούμεθα τὸ πρᾶγμα, τὸν μὲν ἐφ' ἁλουργίδων κατακείμενον τοσούτοις ἀγαθοῖς ἐντρυφᾶν ἐρυγγάνοντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν συνόντων εὐδαιμονιζόμενον ἀεὶ ἑορτάζοντα, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους ὀνειροπολεῖν, εἴ ποθεν ὀβολοὶ τέσσαρες γένοιντο, ὡς ἔχοιμεν ἄρτων γοῦν ἢ ἀλφίτων ἐμπεπλησμένοι καθεύδειν κάρδαμον ἢ θύμον ἢ κρόμμυον ἐπιτρώγοντες. ἢ τοίνυν ταῦτα, ὦ Κρόνε, ἀλλάττειν καὶ μεταποιεῖν ἐς τὸ ἰσοδίαιτον, ἢ τὸ ὕστατον, αὐτούς γε ἐκείνους κελεύειν τοὺς πλουσίους μὴ μόνους ἀπολαύειν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ μεδίμνων τοσούτων χρυσίου χοίνικά γε ἡμῶν πάντων κατασκεδάσαι, ἀπὸ δὲ ἱματίων ὅσα κἂν ὑπὸ σητῶν διαβρωθέντα οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀνιάσειε· ταῦτα γοῦν πάντως ἀπολλύμενα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου διαφθαρησόμενα ἡμῖν δοῦναι περιβαλέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ταῖς κοίταις καὶ κίσταις εὐρῶτι πολλῷ κατασαπῆναι.

22 Καὶ μὴν καὶ δειπνίζειν ἕκαστον ἄρτι μὲν τέσσαρας, ἄρτι δὲ πέντε τῶν πενήτων παραλαμβάνοντας, μὴ μέντοι ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον τῶν δείπνων, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ δημοτικώτερον, ὡς ἐπ' ἴσης μετέχειν ἅπαντας καὶ μὴ τὸν μὲν ἐμφορεῖσθαι τῶν ὄψων καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην περιμένειν ἑστῶτα, ἔστ' ἂν ἀπαγορεύσῃ ἐσθίων, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐλθόντα, ἔτι παρασκευαζομένων ὡς ἐπιβάλοιμεν τὴν χεῖρα, παραμείβεσθαι δείξαντα μόνον τὴν λοπάδα ἢ ὅσον ἐστὶ τοῦ πλακοῦντος τὸ λοιπόν· μηδὲ ἐσκομισθέντος ὑὸς διανέμοντα τῷ μὲν δεσπότῃ

each and all in large numbers, not only have never shared them with us, but never deign even to notice ordinary people. This is what sticks in our throats most of all, Cronus, and we think it an intolerable thing for such a man to lie in his purple clothes and gorge himself on all these good things, belching, receiving his guest's congratulations, and feasting without a break, while I and my sort dream where we can get four obols to be able to sleep after a fill of bread or barley, with cress or thyme or onion as a relish. So either, Cronus, change the situation and give us instead of our present lot an equal share in life, or, at the very least, bid these rich men stop their solitary enjoyment of the good things and out of all their bushels of gold throw down a measure for us all, and out of their clothing give us what would be no loss to them even if it were eaten by moths—it will be completely destroyed and ruined by time in any case—, and tell them to give it us to wear before letting it rot in their boxes and chests with mould everywhere.

Tell them, moreover, to invite the poor to dinner, taking in four or five at a time, not as they do nowadays though, but in a more democratic fashion, all having an equal share, not one man stuffing himself with dainties with the servant standing waiting for him to eat himself to exhaustion, then when this servant comes to us he passes on while we are still getting ready to put out our hand, only letting us glimpse the platter or the remnants of the cake. And tell him not to give a whole half of the pig when it's brought in, and

παρατιθέναι τὸ ἡμίτομον ὅλον σὺν τῇ κεφαλῇ, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ὀστᾶ φέρειν ἐγκεκαλυμμένα. προειπεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῖς οἰνοχόοις μὴ περιμένειν, ἔστ' ἂν ἑπτάκις αἰτήσῃ πιεῖν ἡμῶν ἕκαστος, ἀλλὰ ἢν ἅπαξ κελεύσῃ, αὐτίκα ἐγχέαι καὶ ἀναδοῦναι μεγάλην κύλικα ἐμπλησαμένους ὥσπερ τῷ δεσπότῃ. καὶ τὸν οἶνον δὲ αὐτὸν πᾶσι τοῖς συμπόταις ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι—ἢ ποῦ γὰρ γεγράφθαι τοῦτον τὸν νόμον, τὸν μὲν ἀνθοσμίου μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ γλεύκους διαρρήγνυσθαι τὴν γαστέρα;

23 *Ἢν ταῦτα ἐπανορθώσῃς καὶ μετακοσμήσῃς, ὦ Κρόνε, βίον μὲν τὸν βίον, ἑορτὴν δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἔσῃ πεποιηκώς, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἑορταζόντων, ἡμεῖς δὲ καθεδούμεθα εὐχόμενοι, ἐπειδὰν λουσάμενοι ἥκωσι, τὸν παῖδα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀνατρέψαντα τὸν ἀμφορέα κατᾶξαι, τὸν μάγειρον δὲ τὸν ζωμὸν κνισῶσαι καὶ ἐπιλαθόμενον τὸ τάριχος μὲν ἐς τὴν φακῆν*[1] *ἐμβαλεῖν·*[2] *τὴν κύνα δὲ παρεισπεσοῦσαν τόν τε ἀλλᾶντα ὅλον καταφαγεῖν, περὶ τἄλλα τῶν ὀψοποιῶν ἐχόντων, καὶ τοῦ πλακοῦντος τὸ ἥμισυ· τὸν δὲ ὗν καὶ τὸν ἔλαφον καὶ τὰ δελφάκια μεταξὺ ὀπτώμενα τὸ ὅμοιον ποιεῖν, ὅπερ Ὅμηρος περὶ τῶν Ἡλίου βοῶν φησι—μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ ἕρπειν μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀναπηδήσαντα φεύγειν εἰς τὸ ὄρος αὐτοῖς ὀβελοῖς· καὶ τὰς ὄρνεις δὲ τὰς παχείας, καίτοι ἀπτέρους ἤδη οὔσας καὶ ἐσκευασμένας, ἀναπταμένας οἴχεσθαι καὶ ταύτας, ὡς μὴ μόνοι ἀπολαύοιεν αὐτῶν.*

[1] *φακῆν* one late MS.: *κεφαλὴν* other MSS.
[2] After *ἐμβαλεῖν* MSS. read *τῶν ἰχθύων* (Γ om. *τῶν*): del. Guyet.

the head as well, to his master, bringing the others bones covered over. And tell the wine-servers not to wait for each of us to ask seven times for a drink but on one request to pour it out and hand it to us at once, filling a great cup as they do for their master. And let the wine be one and the same for all the guests—where is it laid down that he should get drunk on wine with a fine bouquet while I must burst my belly on new stuff?

If you correct and adjust this, Cronus, you will have made living really living and your festival a real festival. If not, let them have their festival, and we shall sit on our haunches praying that when they have come from the bath the boy will turn up the wine-jar and break it over them, that the cook will burn the soup and in a fit of absent-mindedness put the fish in the pudding, and that the dog will rush in and eat up all the sausage, while the scullions are busy with the other preparations, and half the cake as well; that while the pork and the venison and the sucking-pigs are being cooked they may do what Homer says Helius's cattle did[1]—or rather not only just crawl, but jump up and rush to the mountain, spits and all; and that their plump birds, although already plucked and prepared for serving, should take wing and go off likewise, so that they may not enjoy them by themselves.

[1] Homer, *Od.* xii, 395.

24 Ὁ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀνιάσειε, τὸ μὲν χρυσίον μύρμηκάς τινας οἵους τοὺς Ἰνδικοὺς ἀνορύττοντας ἐκ τῶν θησαυρῶν ἐκφέρειν νύκτωρ ἐς τὸ δημόσιον· τὴν ἐσθῆτα δὲ ὀλιγωρίᾳ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν κοσκινηδὸν διατετρυπῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βελτίστων μυῶν, ὡς σαγήνης θυννευτικῆς μηδὲν διαφέρειν· παῖδας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ὡραίους καὶ κομήτας, οὓς Ὑακίνθους ἢ Ἀχιλλέας ἢ Ναρκίσσους ὀνομάζουσι, μεταξὺ ὀρέγοντας σφίσι τὸ ἔκπωμα φαλακροὺς γίγνεσθαι ὑπορρεούσης τῆς κόμης καὶ πώγωνα φύειν ὀξύν, οἷοί εἰσιν ἐν ταῖς κωμῳδίαις οἱ σφηνοπώγωνες, καὶ τὸ [1] παρὰ τοῖς κροτάφοις πάνυ λάσιον καὶ κάρτα ἐκκεντοῦν, τὸ μεταξὺ δὲ λεῖον καὶ γυμνὸν εἶναι. ταῦτα καὶ πλείω τούτων εὐξαίμεθ᾽ ἄν, εἰ μὴ θέλωσι τὸ ἄγαν φίλαυτον τοῦτ᾽ ἀφέντες ἐς τὸ κοινὸν πλουτεῖν καὶ μεταδιδόναι ἡμῖν τῶν μετρίων.

2. ΚΡΟΝΟΣ ΕΜΟΙ ΤΩΙ ΤΙΜΙΩΤΑΤΩΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

25 Τί ταῦτα ληρεῖς, ὦ οὗτος, ἐμοὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐπιστέλλων καὶ ἀναδασμὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ποιεῖν κελεύων; τὸ δὲ ἑτέρου ἂν εἴη, τοῦ νῦν ἄρχοντος. θαυμάζω γὰρ εἰ μόνος τῶν ἁπάντων ἀγνώσσεις ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν πάλαι βασιλεὺς ὢν πέπαυμαι τοῖς παισὶ διανείμας τὴν ἀρχήν, ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς μάλιστα τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιμελεῖται. τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα ταῦτα μέχρι πεττῶν καὶ κρότου καὶ ᾠδῆς καὶ μέθης, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ πλέον ἡμερῶν ἑπτά. ὥστε περὶ τῶν μειζόνων ἃ φής—ἀφελεῖν τὸ ἄνισον καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὁμοίας ἢ

[1] τὸ add. Schmieder.

This in particular will cause them trouble: we shall pray for their gold to be dug up from its hiding-places by ants like those of India and carried off by night to the public treasury; and that their clothing through neglect of those in charge should be riddled like a sieve by those fine creatures the mice, to be just like a tunny net; and that their pretty, long-haired pages whom they call Hyacinth or Achilles or Narcissus, just as they are handing them the cup should go bald and have their hair fall out and sprout a pointed beard, like the wedge-shaped beards in the comedy, and have the part around their temples become very hairy and exceedingly prickly, and the area between them smooth and bare. All this and more we shall pray for if they will not give up their excessive selfishness and keep their wealth for everybody's good and give us a moderate share.

2. CRONUS TO HIS VERY DEAR ME—GREETINGS!

Why do you talk this nonsense, my man, sending me letters about the way things are and telling me to make a redistribution of property? That task would belong to someone else, your present ruler. I'm surprised that you are the only one who doesn't know that I stopped being king a long time ago when I apportioned my sovereignty to my sons, and that such things are Zeus's special concern. This rule of mine doesn't go beyond dicing, hand-clapping, singing, and getting drunk, and then it's for no longer than seven days. So, as to the more important matters you mention—removing inequality and

πένεσθαι ἢ πλουτεῖν ἅπαντας—ὁ Ζεὺς ἂν χρηματίσειεν ὑμῖν.

Εἰ δέ τι τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀδικοῖτό τις ἢ πλεονεκτοῖτο, ἐμὸν ἂν εἴη δικάζειν. καὶ ἐπιστέλλω δὲ τοῖς πλουσίοις περὶ τῶν δείπνων καὶ τοῦ χοίνικος τοῦ χρυσίου καὶ τῶν ἐσθήτων, ὡς καὶ ὑμῖν πέμποιεν ἐς τὴν ἑορτήν. δίκαια γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἄξια αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν, ὡς φατέ, εἰ μή τι εὔλογον
26 ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχωσιν. τὸ δὲ ὅλον, ἴστε οἱ πένητες ὑμεῖς ἐξηπατημένοι καὶ οὐκ ὀρθῶς δοξάζοντες περὶ τῶν πλουσίων, οἵ γε πανευδαίμονας αὐτοὺς οἴεσθε εἶναι καὶ μόνους ἡδύν τινα βιοῦν τὸν βίον, ὅτι δειπνεῖν τε πολυτελῶς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι οἴνου ἡδέος καὶ παισὶν ὡραίοις καὶ γυναιξὶν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ ἐσθῆσι μαλακαῖς χρῆσθαι. τὸ δὲ πάνυ ἀγνοεῖτε ὁποῖόν ἐστιν. αἵ τε γὰρ φροντίδες αἱ περὶ τούτων οὐ μικραί, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἐπαγρυπνεῖν ἑκάστοις, μή τι ὁ οἰκονόμος βλακεύσας ἢ ὑφελόμενος λάθῃ, μὴ ὁ οἶνος ὀξυνθῇ, μὴ ὁ σῖτος φθειρὶ ζέσῃ, ἢ ὁ λῃστὴς ὑφέληται τὰ ἐκπώματα, μὴ πιστεύσῃ τοῖς συκοφάνταις ὁ δῆμος λέγουσι τυραννεῖν αὐτὸν ἐθέλειν. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα οὐδὲ τὸ πολλοστὸν ἂν εἴη μέρος τῶν ἀνιώντων αὐτούς. εἰ γοῦν ἠπίστασθε τοὺς φόβους καὶ τὰς μερίμνας ἃς ἔχουσιν, πάνυ ἂν ὑμῖν φευκτέον ὁ πλοῦτος
27 ἔδοξεν. ἐπεί τοι οἴει με αὐτὸν οὕτως ἄν ποτε κορυβαντιᾶσαι, ὡς εἰ καλὸν ἦν τὸ πλουτεῖν καὶ βασιλεύειν, ἀφέντα ἂν αὐτὰ καὶ παραχωρήσαντα ἄλλοις καθῆσθαι ἰδιωτεύοντα καὶ ἀνέχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλῳ ταττόμενον; ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα εἰδώς, ἃ τοῖς πλουσίοις καὶ ἄρχουσι προσεῖναι ἀνάγκη, ἀφῆκα τὴν ἀρχὴν εὖ ποιῶν.

all being poor or rich together—Zeus might deal with you.

But any injustice or selfishness in the festival it would be for me to judge. In fact I am sending to the rich about the dinners and the measure of gold and the clothing, telling them to send you some for the festival. It is just and proper for them to do this, as you say, unless they can bring some reasonable argument against it. But in general you must realise that you poor people have been deceived and have a false view of the rich. You think that they are completely happy and they alone live a life that's pleasant, because they can have expensive dinners, get drunk on sweet wine, mix with pretty boys and women, and wear soft clothing. You have no idea what the truth of it is. In the first place these things bring no little worry: they are compelled to keep a watchful eye on every detail so that the steward doesn't get away with any carelessness or theft, that the wine doesn't go sour, that the corn isn't swarming with weevils, that a burglar doesn't steal the drinking-cups, or the people believe the rabble-rousers when they say the rich man wants to be a tyrant. All these things, moreover, would not make up the tiniest fraction of their troubles. If you had only known the fears and worries they have, you would have thought wealth something to be avoided at all costs. Do you really think that if wealth and kingship were a fine thing I should have been mad enough to let them go and hand them over to others, to sit quietly in private life and put up with orders from another? No, I knew about all this host of troubles which rich men and rulers have to endure, and I gave up my empire, and a good thing too.

28 Καὶ γὰρ ἃ νῦν ἐποτνιᾷ πρός με, ὡς τοὺς μὲν ὑῶν καὶ πλακούντων ἐμφορουμένους [1] ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, σκέψαι ὁποῖά ἐστι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ παρὸν ἡδὺ καὶ οὐκ ἀνιαρὸν ἴσως ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ [2] μετὰ ταῦτα ἔμπαλιν ἀναστρέφεται τὸ πρᾶγμα. εἶτα ὑμεῖς μὲν οὔτε καρηβαροῦντες ἀνασταίητ' ἂν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης οὔτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν πλησμονῆς δυσῶδές τι καὶ καπνωδέστερον ἐρυγγάνοντες· οἱ δὲ τούτων τε ἀπολαύουσι καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς νυκτὸς ἢ παισὶν ἢ γυναιξὶν ἢ ὅπως ἂν ὁ τράγος κελεύῃ συναναφυρέντες ἢ φθόην ἢ περιπνευμονίαν ἢ ὕδερον οὐ χαλεπῶς συνελέξαντο ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς τρυφῆς. ἢ τίνα ἂν αὐτῶν ῥᾳδίως δεῖξαι δύναιο μὴ πάντως ὠχρὸν ὄντα πολὺ τὸ νεκρῶδες ἐμφαίνοντα; τίνα δὲ ἐς γῆρας ἀφικόμενον τοῖς αὑτοῦ ποσίν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φοράδην ἐπὶ τεττάρων ὀχούμενον, ὁλόχρυσον μὲν τὰ ἔξω, κατάρραφον δὲ τὰ ἔνδον, ὥσπερ αἱ τραγικαὶ ἐσθῆτες ἐκ ῥακῶν πάνυ εὐτελῶν συγκεκαττυμέναι; [3] ὑμεῖς δὲ ἰχθύων μὲν ἄγευστοι καὶ ἄσιτοι, ποδάγρας δὲ ἢ περιπνευμονίας οὐχ ὁρᾶθ' ὅτι καὶ τούτων ἄπειροί ἐστε, ἢ εἴ τι κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν συμβαίνει; καίτοι οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἡδύ [4] ἐστιν αὐτὸ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ πέρα τοῦ κόρου ἐσθίειν τούτων, ἀλλὰ ἴδοις ἂν αὐτοὺς οὕτω λαχάνων καὶ θύμου ὀρεγομένους ἐνίοτε, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ σὺ τῶν λαγωῶν καὶ ὑῶν.

29 Ἐῶ λέγειν ὅσα ἄλλα λυπεῖ αὐτούς—υἱὸς ἀκόλαστος ἢ γυνὴ τοῦ οἰκέτου ἐρῶσα ἢ ἐρώμενος πρὸς ἀνάγκην μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἡδονὴν συνών. καὶ ὅλως

[1] After ἐμφορουμένους Aldinus has ὑμᾶς δὲ κάρδαμον ἢ θύμον ἢ κρόμμυον ἐπιτρώγοντας ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ.

Take the noisy complaints you made to me just now, that they gorged on pork and cakes in the feasting—what do they amount to? Both of them are perhaps sweet and not disagreeable for the moment, but in the aftermath the matter is turned right round. Then, whereas you will get up on the next day without the headache their drinking gives them and the foul, smoky belching from over-fullness, they not only have the pleasure of all this but having spent most of the night in debauchery with boys or women or in any way their lechery takes them, without difficulty they pick up consumption or pneumonia or dropsy from their excessive indulgence. Again, would you find it easy to point out one of them who was not absolutely pale, looking very much like death? Or one who reached old age on his own feet and not carried on four men's backs, all gold on the outside, but with his inside cobbled like the costumes in tragedy, patched up out of quite worthless rags? You paupers never taste or feed on fish, true enough, but don't you see that you've no acquaintance with gout or pneumonia either, or of anything else that they catch for some other reason? Yet even they themselves don't find it pleasant eating this food every day beyond what they want of these dishes; no, you'll see them sometimes with a better appetite for vegetables and thyme than even you have for hare and pork.

I say nothing of the other things that worry them—a licentious son, a wife in love with a servant, a loved one who yields because he has to and not because he

[2] πρὸς δὲ τὰ Halm : ὡς δὲ MSS.

[3] συγκεκαττυμέναι Solanus : συγκεκομμέναι MSS.

[4] ἡδύ Guyet : ἔτι MSS.

πολλά ἐστιν ἅπερ ὑμεῖς ἀγνοοῦντες τὸν χρυσὸν ὁρᾶτε αὐτῶν μόνον καὶ τὴν πορφύραν, καὶ ἢν ἴδητέ ποτε ἐξελαύνοντας ἐπὶ λευκοῦ ζεύγους, κεχήνατε καὶ προσκυνεῖτε. εἰ δὲ ὑπερεωρᾶτε αὐτῶν καὶ κατεφρονεῖτε καὶ μήτε ἐπεστρέφεσθε πρὸς τὴν ἀργυρᾶν ἁρμάμαξαν μήτε μεταξὺ διαλεγομένων εἰς τὸν ἐν τῷ δακτυλίῳ σμάραγδον ἀφεωρᾶτε καὶ τῶν ἱματίων παραπτόμενοι τὸ μαλακὸν ἐθαυμάζετε, ἀλλ' εἰᾶτε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς πλουτεῖν, εὖ ἴστε, αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἰόντες ἐδέοντο συνδειπνεῖν, ὡς ἐπιδείξαιντο ὑμῖν τὰς κλίνας καὶ τὰς τραπέζας καὶ τὰ ἐκπώματα, ὧν οὐδὲν ὄφελος, εἰ ἀμάρτυρος
30 *ἡ κτῆσις εἴη. τά γέ τοι πλεῖστα εὕροιτε ἂν αὐτοὺς ὑμῶν ἕνεκα κτωμένους, οὐχ ὅπως αὐτοὶ χρήσωνται, ἀλλ' ὅπως ὑμεῖς θαυμάζοιτε.*

Ταῦτα *ὑμᾶς παραμυθοῦμαι εἰδὼς τὸν βίον ἑκάτερον, καὶ ἄξιον ἑορτάζειν ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι μετ' ὀλίγον ἅπαντας δεήσει ἀπιέναι ἐκ τοῦ βίου κἀκείνους τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ ὑμᾶς τὴν πενίαν ἀφέντας. πλὴν ἐπιστελῶ γε αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ὑπεσχόμην, καὶ οἶδ' ὅτι οὐκ ὀλιγωρήσουσι τῶν ἐμῶν γραμμάτων.*

3. ΚΡΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΟΙΣ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

31 Οἱ *πένητες ἔναγχος ἐπεστάλκασί μοι αἰτιώμενοι ὑμᾶς μὴ μεταδιδόναι σφίσιν ὧν ἔχετε, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἠξίουν με κοινὰ πᾶσι ποιεῖν τἀγαθὰ καὶ τὸ μέρος ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἔχειν. δίκαιον γὰρ εἶναι ἰσοτιμίαν καθεστηκέναι καὶ μὴ τῷ μὲν πλέον, τῷ δὲ μηδ' ὅλως μετεῖναι τῶν ἡδέων. ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἔφην ἄμεινον σκέψασθαι τὸν Δία, περὶ*

wants. Altogether there's a great deal you don't know of—you only see their gold and purple, and whenever you see them riding out behind a white team you gape and do obeisance to them. Now if you ignored and despised them and neither turned to look at their silver carriage nor during conversation glanced at the emerald in their ring and touched their dress in admiration at its softness, but let them be rich for themselves alone, you may be quite sure they would come to you of their own accord and beg you to dine with them so that they might show you their couches and tables and cups, which are no use if people don't see that they're yours. In fact most of what they have you would find they get on your account, not for their own use, but to impress you poor people.

This, then, is the advice I give you, knowing both ways of life as I do. And it is right that during the festival you should remember that after a little time you must all depart from life, the rich giving up their wealth and you your poverty. But I shall write to them as I promised and I know they will not despise my words.

3. CRONUS TO THE RICH—GREETINGS!

The poor have recently written me complaining that you don't let them share what you have, and, to be brief, they asked me to make the good things common to all and let everyone have his bit. It was right, they said, for there to be equality and not for one man to have too much of what is pleasing while another goes without altogether. I replied that Zeus would see to that better than I, but with regard

δὲ τῶν παρόντων καὶ ὧν ἀδικεῖσθαι ᾤοντο κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἑώρων ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ καθήκουσαν τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ ὑπεσχόμην γράψειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

Ἔστι δὲ ἅπερ ἀξιοῦσι ταῦτα μέτρια, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἔδοξε. πῶς γάρ, φασί, ῥιγοῦντες τοσούτῳ κρύει καὶ λιμῷ ἐχόμενοι προσέτι ἑορτάζοιμεν ἄν; εἰ τοίνυν ἐθέλοιμι κἀκείνους μετέχειν τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἐκέλευόν με ἀναγκάσαι ὑμᾶς ἐσθήτων τε ὧν ἔχετε μεταδοῦναι αὐτοῖς, εἴ τινες περιτταὶ καὶ παχύτεραι ἢ καθ᾽ ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοῦ χρυσίου ὀλίγον ἐπιστάξαι αὐτοῖς. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα, φασί, ποιήσετε, μηδὲ[1] *ἀμφισβητεῖν ὑμῖν ἔτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Διός, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπειλοῦσι προσκαλέσασθαι ἐπὶ τὸν ἀναδασμόν, ἐπειδὰν τὸ πρῶτον δίκας ὁ Ζεὺς προθῇ. ταῦτά ἐστιν οὐ πάνυ χαλεπὰ ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τοσούτων ἃ καλῶς ποιοῦντες ἔχετε.*

32 Νὴ Δία *καὶ τῶν δείπνων πέρι, ὡς συνδειπνοῖεν ὑμῖν—καὶ τοῦτο προσθεῖναι ἠξίουν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, ὡς νῦν γε μόνους ὑμᾶς τρυφᾶν ἐπικλεισαμένους τὰς θύρας, εἰ δέ ποτε κἀκείνων τινὰς ἑστιᾶν διὰ μακροῦ ἐθελήσετε, πλέον τοῦ εὐφραίνοντος ἐνεῖναι τὸ ἀνιαρὸν τῷ δείπνῳ, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐφ᾽ ὕβρει αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι—οἷον ἐκεῖνο τὸ μὴ τοῦ αὐτοῦ οἴνου συμπίνειν,* Ἡράκλεις, *ὡς ἀνελεύθερον. καὶ καταγιγνώσκειν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἄξιον, ὅτι μὴ μεταξὺ ἀναστάντες οἴχονται ὅλον ὑμῖν τὸ συμπόσιον καταλιπόντες. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ἐς κόρον ὅμως φασὶ πίνειν. τοὺς γὰρ οἰνοχόους ὑμῶν ὥσπερ τοὺς* Ὀδυσσέως *ἑταίρους κηρῷ βεβύσθαι τὰ ὦτα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα οὕτως αἰσχρά ἐστιν, ὥστε ὀκνῶ λέγειν, ἃ περὶ τῆς νομῆς τῶν κρεῶν αἰτιῶνται καὶ*

[1] *μηδὲ* Jacobitz : *μήτε* MSS.

to the present and the injustices they suppose they suffer at festival-time I saw that here judgment was in my hands. I promised to write to you.

Now these requests seem to me to be reasonable. "How," they say, "can we, shivering in this extreme cold and in the grip of famine, keep festival as well?" So if I wanted them too to share in the festival, they bade me compel you to give them a share of any clothing you have above your needs or any too coarse for you, and to sprinkle on them a little of your gold. If you do that, they say, they will not even argue with you before Zeus any more about your possessions. Otherwise they threaten a summons for redistribution of property just as soon as Zeus begins his cases. These things are not at all difficult for you to grant out of all that you are rightly blessed with.

Oh yes, the dinners and their dining with you—they asked me to add this to my letter, that at present you gorge alone behind locked doors, and, if ever at long intervals you are willing to entertain any of them, there is more annoyance than good cheer in the dinner, and most of what happens is done to hurt them—that business of not drinking the same wine as you, for instance—goodness! how ungenerous that is! They themselves might well be condemned for not getting up and going during the proceedings and leaving the banquet entirely to you. But they say that even so they do not drink their fill, for your cup-bearers, like Odysseus's companions,[1] have had their ears stuffed with wax. The rest is so disgraceful that I hesitate to mention their complaints of the way the meat is apportioned and

[1] Homer, *Od.* xii, 173 ff.

τῶν διακόνων, ὑμῖν μὲν παρεστώτων ἔστ' ἂν ὑπερεμφορηθῆτε, ἐκείνους δὲ παραθεόντων, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα μικροπρεπῆ καὶ ἥκιστα ἐλευθέροις πρέποντα. τὸ γοῦν ἥδιστον καὶ συμποτικώτερον ἡ ἰσοτιμία ἐστί, καὶ ὁ ἰσοδαίτης [1] τούτου ἕνεκα ἡγεῖται ὑμῖν τῶν συμποσίων, ὡς τὸ ἴσον ἅπαντες ἔχοιεν.

33 Ὁρᾶτε οὖν ὅπως μηκέτι ὑμᾶς αἰτιάσωνται, ἀλλὰ τιμήσωσι καὶ φιλήσωσι τῶν ὀλίγων τούτων μεταλαμβάνοντες· ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ δαπάνη ἀνεπαίσθητος, ἐκείνοις δὲ ἐν καιρῷ τῆς χρείας ἡ δόσις ἀείμνηστος. ἄλλως τε οὐδ' ἂν οἰκεῖν δύναισθε τὰς πόλεις μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ πενήτων συμπολιτευομένων καὶ μυρία πρὸς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ὑμῖν συντελούντων, οὐδ' ἂν ἔχοιτε τοὺς θαυμάζοντας ὑμῶν τὸν πλοῦτον, ἢν μόνοι καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ ὑπὸ σκότῳ πλουτῆτε. ἰδέτωσαν οὖν πολλοὶ καὶ θαυμασάτωσαν ὑμῶν τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ τὰς τραπέζας καὶ προπινόντων φιλοτησίας, μεταξὺ πίνοντες περισκοπείτωσαν τὸ ἔκπωμα καὶ τὸ βάρος ἴστωσαν αὐτοὶ διαβαστάσαντες καὶ τῆς ἱστορίας τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ [2] τὸν χρυσὸν ὅσος, ὃς ἐπανθεῖ τῇ τέχνῃ. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ χρηστοὺς καὶ φιλανθρώπους ἀκούειν καὶ τοῦ φθονεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔξω γενήσεσθε. τίς γὰρ ἂν φθονήσειε τῷ κοινωνοῦντι καὶ διδόντι τῶν μετρίων; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν εὔξαιτο εἰς τὸ μήκιστον διαβιῶναι αὐτὸν ἀπολαύοντα τῶν ἀγαθῶν; ὡς δὲ νῦν ἔχετε, ἀμάρτυρος μὲν ἡ εὐδαιμονία, ἐπίφθονος
34 δὲ ὁ πλοῦτος, ἀηδὴς δὲ ὁ βίος. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁμοίως ἡδύ, οἶμαι, μόνον ἐμπίπλασθαι, ὥσπερ τοὺς λέοντάς φασι καὶ τοὺς μονιοὺς τῶν λύκων,

[1] ἰσοδαίτης Gesner: ἰσοδιαίτης MSS.

how the servants stand beside you until you are full to bursting, but run past them. There are many more like complaints of meanness, complaints that bring little credit to gentlemen. In fact the pleasantest thing, more in keeping with conviviality, is equality, and a controller of the feast presides over your banquets just so that all can have an equal share.

See to it then that they don't accuse you any more, but respect and like you for their share in these few things; the expense is nothing to you, but they will never forget that you gave in time of need. Besides, you could not even live in your cities if the poor were not your fellow-citizens and did not contribute in thousands of ways to your happiness; and you would have no one to admire your wealth if you were rich in isolation, privately, and in obscurity. So let many see and admire your silver and your tables, and when you are pledging friendship let them, while they are drinking, examine the cup and estimate the weight themselves, determine the accuracy of the story told on it and the amount of gold that adorns the work. For as well as being called good and kindly you will stop being envied by them. For who would envy the man who goes shares and gives what is fair? And who would not pray for him to live as long as possible in the enjoyment of his blessings? As you are now, your happiness has no witness, your riches are begrudged you, and your life is unpleasant. It certainly cannot, I am sure, be as pleasant to have your fill by yourselves, as they say lions and lone wolves do, as to mix with clever

[2] καὶ add. Guyet.

καὶ συνόντας δεξιοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ πάντα χαρίζεσθαι πειρωμένοις, οἳ πρῶτα μὲν οὐ κωφὸν καὶ ἄφωνον τὸ συμπόσιον ἐάσουσιν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐν μύθοις συμποτικοῖς καὶ σκώμμασιν ἀνεπαχθέσι καὶ φιλοφροσύναις ποικίλαις συνέσονται, οἷαι διατριβαὶ ἥδισται, φίλαι μὲν Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ, φίλαι δὲ Χάρισιν, ἔπειτα δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν διηγούμενοι ὑμῶν τὴν δεξιότητα φιλεῖσθαι παρασκευάσουσι. ταῦτα πολλοῦ πρίασθαι καλῶς εἶχεν.

35 Ἐπεὶ ἐρήσομαι ὑμᾶς, εἰ μύοντες οἱ πένητες βαδίζοιεν—ὑποθώμεθα γὰρ οὕτως—οὐκ ἂν ὑμᾶς ἠνίασεν οὐκ ἔχοντας οἷς ἐπιδείξαισθε τὰς ἁλουργεῖς ἐσθῆτας καὶ τῶν ἀκολουθούντων τὸ πλῆθος ἢ τῶν δακτυλίων τὸ μέγεθος; ἐῶ λέγειν ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλὰς καὶ μίση παρὰ τῶν πενήτων ἀναγκαῖον ἐγγίγνεσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἣν μόνοι τρυφᾶν ἐθέλητε. ἃ μὲν γὰρ εὔξασθαι καθ' ὑμῶν ἀπειλοῦσιν, ἀποτρόπαια, μηδὲ γένοιτο εἰς ἀνάγκην αὐτοὺς καταστῆναι τῆς εὐχῆς. ἐπεὶ οὔτε ἀλλάντων γεύσεσθε οὔτε πλακοῦντος ἢ εἴ τι λείψανον τῆς κυνός, ἡ φακῆ δὲ ὑμῖν σαπέρδην ἐντετηκότα ἕξει, ὗς δὲ καὶ ἔλαφος ὀπτώμενοι μεταξὺ δρασμὸν βουλεύσουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ὀπτανείου ἐς τὸ ὄρος, καὶ ὄρνις ψύττα κατατείνασαι ἄπτεροι καὶ αὗται παρ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς πένητας ἐκπετήσονται. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, οἱ ὡραιότατοι τῶν οἰνοχόων φαλακροὶ ἐν ἀκαρεῖ τοῦ χρόνου ὑμῖν γενήσονται, ἐπὶ κατεαγότι καὶ ταῦτα τῷ ἀμφορεῖ.

Πρὸς τάδε βουλεύεσθε ἃ καὶ τῇ ἑορτῇ πρέποντα γένοιτ' ἂν καὶ ὑμῖν ἀσφαλέστατα, καὶ ἐπικουφίζετε πολλὴν τὴν [1] πενίαν αὐτοῖς ἀπ' ὀλίγου τελέσματος φίλους οὐ μεμπτοὺς ἕξοντες.

fellows and those who try in every way to please. In the first place they will not allow your banquet to be deaf and dumb. No, their company means convivial stories, harmless jests, and all sorts of expressions of friendship; these are the pleasantest sorts of pastimes, dear to Dionysus and Aphrodite, dear too to the Graces. Then they will talk to everyone next day of your sociability and get you liked. And this is rightly worth a great deal.

I will ask you something. Let us suppose the poor went about with their eyes shut; wouldn't you be cross when you had no one to show your purple clothes, your thronging attendants, the size of your rings? I leave aside the plots, the hatred you must stir up in the poor against you if you choose to enjoy your luxury alone. Terrible are the curses they threaten to utter against you. May they never be constrained to utter them! For then you will taste neither sausages nor cakes, except what the dog may have left, your lentil-soup will have saltfish dissolved in it, your boar and deer while they're being roasted will plan escape from the oven to the hills, and your birds, wingless though they be,—shoo there!—they will be flying at full stretch to the homes of the selfsame poor. And worst of all, the prettiest of your wine-servers will turn bald all at once, and that after breaking your jar.

Well, then, make plans that befit the festival and are safest for you. Lighten their great poverty for them, and at slight cost you will find friends who are far from despicable.

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[1] τὴν add. Jacobitz.

4. ΟΙ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΟΙ ΤΩΙ ΚΡΟΝΩΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

36 *Πρὸς γὰρ σὲ οἴει μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν πενήτων ταῦτα γεγράφθαι, ὦ Κρόνε, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἤδη ἐκκεκώφηται πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀναβοώντων καὶ αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα τὸν ἀναδασμὸν ἀξιούντων γενέσθαι καὶ αἰτιωμένων τήν τε εἱμαρμένην ὡς ἄνισον τὴν νομὴν πεποιημένην καὶ ἡμᾶς ὅτι μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς μεταδιδόναι ἀξιοῦμεν; ἀλλ' οἶδεν ἐκεῖνος, ἅτε Ζεὺς ὤν, παρ' οἷστισιν ἡ αἰτία, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρακούει αὐτῶν τὰ πολλά. σοὶ δὲ ὅμως ἀπολογησόμεθα, ἐπείπερ ἄρχεις γε νῦν ἡμῶν.*

Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντα πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν λαβόντες ἃ γέγραφας, ὡς καλὸν ἐπικουρεῖν ἀπὸ πολλῶν τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ ὡς ἥδιον συνεῖναι καὶ συνευωχεῖσθαι τοῖς πένησιν, ἀεὶ διετελοῦμεν οὕτω ποιοῦντες ἰσοδίαιτοι καθεστῶτες, ὡς ἂν μηδὲ τὸν συνδαίτην
37 *αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαί τι. οἱ δὲ ὀλίγων ἐν ἀρχῇ δεῖσθαι φάσκοντες, ἐπειδήπερ ἅπαξ αὐτοῖς ἀνεπετάσαμεν τὰς θύρας, οὐκ ἀνίεσαν ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις αἰτοῦντες· εἰ δὲ μὴ πάντα εὐθὺς μηδὲ πρὸς ἔπος λαμβάνοιεν, ὀργὴ καὶ μῖσος καὶ πρόχειροι αἱ βλασφημίαι. κἂν εἴ τι ἐπιψεύδοιντο ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' οἵ γε ἀκούοντες ἐπίστευον ἂν ὡς ἀκριβῶς εἰδόσιν ἐκ τοῦ συγγεγονέναι. ὥστε δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ μὴ διδόντα ἐχθρὸν εἶναι πάντως ἔδει ἢ πάντα προϊέμενον αὐτίκα μάλα πένεσθαι καὶ τῶν αἰτούντων καὶ*
38 *αὐτὸν εἶναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μέτρια· ἐν δὲ τοῖς δείπνοις αὐτοῖς ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ ἐμπίπλασθαι καὶ γαστρίζεσθαι καὶ αὐτοί, ἐπειδὰν πλεῖον τοῦ*

4. THE RICH TO CRONUS—GREETINGS!

Do you really think that you are the only one written to by the poor in this vein, Cronus? Isn't Zeus already quite deaf from the din of their demands for just that, a redistribution of wealth, and of their charges against fate for inequality in distribution and against us for not considering giving them any share? But he, being Zeus, knows who is to blame, and for that reason takes no notice of most of their complaints. Nevertheless we shall defend ourselves to you, since you are our lord at present.

We for our part have set before us all you have written—that it was a fine thing to succour the needy out of our plenty, and that it was more agreeable to mix and feast with the poor. This is what we always used to do, putting ourselves on an equal footing with them so that not even our guest himself could find anything to complain of. Now in the beginning they said that they asked for very little, but once we had opened our doors to them they never stopped making demand after demand; and if they didn't get it all immediately and on demand then there was bad temper and ill-feeling, and maledictions came readily enough. And if they told a lie about us then those who heard them believed them, for they supposed their knowledge to be accurate because they had been with us. So we had the choice either not to give and inevitably be their enemies or to throw everything away and be straightway very poor and enter the ranks of the beggars ourselves. Now all the rest isn't so bad compared with these very dinners you mention. For themselves they do not care so much about filling their bellies, but when they've

ἱκανοῦ ἐμπίωσιν, ἢ παιδὸς ὡραίου μεταξὺ ἀναδόντος τὸ ἔκπωμα ἔνυξαν τὴν χεῖρα ἢ παλλακῇ ἢ γαμετῇ γυναικὶ ἐπεχείρησαν. εἶτα κατεμέσαντες τοῦ συμποσίου ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν λοιδοροῦνται ἡμῖν κατελθόντες, ὡς ἐδίψησαν καὶ ὡς λιμῷ συνῆσαν διηγούμενοι. καὶ εἴ σοι ταῦτα καταψεύδεσθαι αὐτῶν δοκοῦμεν, τὸν ὑμέτερον παράσιτον ἀναμνήσθητι τὸν Ἰξίονα, ὃς ἀξιωθεὶς κοινῆς τραπέζης, ἀξίωμα ἔχων ἴσον ὑμῖν, τῇ Ἥρᾳ μεθυσθεὶς ἐπεχείρει ὁ γενναῖος.

39 *Ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὑφ' ὧν ἡμεῖς ἐβουλευσάμεθα πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἡμετέρας ἕνεκεν μηκέτι ἐπιβατὸν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν τὴν οἰκίαν. εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ σοῦ συνθοῖντο μετρίων δεήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ νῦν φασι, μηδὲν δὲ ὑβριστικὸν ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ἐργάσεσθαι, κοινωνούντων ἡμῖν καὶ συνδειπνούντων τύχῃ τῇ ἀγαθῇ. καὶ τῶν ἱματίων, ὡς σὺ κελεύεις, πέμψομεν καὶ τοῦ χρυσίου ὁπόσον οἷόν τε καὶ προσδαπανήσομεν, καὶ ὅλως οὐδὲν ἐλλείψομεν. καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀφέμενοι τοῦ κατὰ τέχνην ὁμιλεῖν ἡμῖν φίλοι ἀντὶ κολάκων καὶ παρασίτων ἔστωσαν. ὡς ἡμᾶς γε οὐδὲν ἂν αἰτιάσαιο κἀκείνων τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθελόντων.*

drunk more than enough they either nudge the hand of a pretty page when he gives the cup back to them or make attempts on your mistress or your wedded wife. Then, after being sick all over the dining-room, next day back at home they abuse us, saying that they were thirsty and well acquainted with starvation. If you think these are lies we are telling against them, remember your own parasite, Ixion, who was granted a place at the common board and enjoyed equality of rank with you, the gods. Yet he, fine fellow that he was, got drunk and made attempts on Hera.

It's this sort of thing that makes us determine not to let them in the house again, for our own safety's sake. But if they were to make an agreement with you to be moderate in their demands, as they now say they are, and refrain from bad behaviour during banquets, then let them join us and dine with us, and good luck to them! Furthermore we shall send some of our clothing, as you direct, and spend as much gold as we can as well, and altogether we shan't be found wanting in anything. And let them in their turn cease to be artful in their dealings with us and be friends instead of toadies and spongers. You will find no fault in us if they will do what they ought.

HERODOTUS OR AËTION

An introduction delivered before a Macedonian audience. The central theme is the description of a painting by Aëtion, a contemporary of Alexander the Great.

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ Η ΑΕΤΙΩΝ

1 Ἡροδότου εἴθε μὲν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μιμήσασθαι δυνατὸν ἦν. οὐ πάντα φημὶ ὅσα προσῆν αὐτῷ (μεῖζον γὰρ εὐχῆς τοῦτό γε) ἀλλὰ κἂν ἓν ἐκ τῶν ἁπάντων—οἷον ἢ κάλλος τῶν λόγων ἢ ἁρμονίαν αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ οἰκεῖον τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ καὶ προσφυὲς ἢ τῆς γνώμης τὸ περιττὸν ἢ ὅσα μυρία καλὰ ἐκεῖνος ἅμα πάντα συλλαβὼν ἔχει πέρα τῆς εἰς μίμησιν ἐλπίδος. ἃ δὲ ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τοῖς συγγράμμασιν καὶ ὡς πολλοῦ ἄξιος τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἅπασιν ἐν βραχεῖ κατέστη,[1] καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ καὶ ἄλλος ἂν μιμησαίμεθα.

Πλεύσας γὰρ οἴκοθεν ἐκ τῆς Καρίας εὐθὺ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐσκοπεῖτο πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα καὶ ἀπραγμονέστατα ἐπίσημος καὶ περιβόητος γένοιτο καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ συγγραμμάτια. τὸ μὲν οὖν περινοστοῦντα νῦν μὲν Ἀθηναίοις, νῦν δὲ Κορινθίοις ἀναγινώσκειν ἢ Ἀργείοις ἢ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τῷ μέρει, ἐργῶδες καὶ μακρὸν ἡγεῖτο εἶναι καὶ τριβὴν οὐ μικρὰν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἔσεσθαι. οὔκουν ἠξίου διασπᾶν τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ κατὰ διαίρεσιν οὕτω κατ' ὀλίγον ἀγείρειν καὶ συλλέγειν 2 τὴν γνῶσιν, ἐπεβούλευε δέ, εἰ δυνατὸν εἴη, ἀθρόους που λαβεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας. ἐνίσταται οὖν

[1] So Burmeister: ὡς πολλαχῶς τοῖς Ἑλ. . . . κατέστη Γ[1]: γνώριμος in marg. after βραχεῖ Γ[2]: ὡς πολλαχῶς τοῖς Ἑλ. ἐν βραχεῖ κατέστη N.

HERODOTUS OR AËTION

I WISH it were possible to imitate Herodotus's other qualities too. I do not mean all and everyone (this would be too much to pray for) but just one of them—whether the beauty of his diction, the careful arrangement of his words, the aptness of his native Ionic, his extraordinary power of thought, or the countless jewels which he has wrought into a unity beyond hope of imitation. But where you and I and everyone else can imitate him is in what he did with his composition and in the speed with which he became an established man of repute throughout the whole Greek world.

As soon as he sailed from his home in Caria straight for Greece, he bethought himself of the quickest and least troublesome path to fame and a reputation for both himself and his works. To travel round reading his works, now in Athens, now in Corinth or Argos or Lacedaemon in turn, he thought a long and tedious undertaking that would waste much time. The division of his task and the consequent delay in the gradual acquisition of a reputation did not appeal to him, and he formed the plan I suppose of winning the hearts of all the Greeks at once if he

[2] So Graevius : ἀγείρων καὶ συλλέγων MSS.

Ὀλύμπια τὰ μεγάλα, καὶ ὁ Ἡρόδοτος τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο ἥκειν οἱ νομίσας τὸν καιρόν, οὗ μάλιστα ἐγλίχετο, πλήθουσαν τηρήσας τὴν πανήγυριν, ἁπανταχόθεν ἤδη τῶν ἀρίστων συνειλεγμένων, παρελθὼν ἐς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον οὐ θεατήν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιστὴν Ὀλυμπίων παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν ᾄδων τὰς ἱστορίας καὶ κηλῶν τοὺς παρόντας, ἄχρι τοῦ καὶ Μούσας κληθῆναι τὰς βίβλους αὐτοῦ, ἐννέα καὶ αὐτὰς οὔσας.

2 Ἤδη οὖν ἅπαντες αὐτὸν ᾔδεσαν πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας αὐτούς. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἀνήκοος ἦν τοῦ Ἡροδότου ὀνόματος—οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πανηγύρεως ἡκόντων πυνθανόμενοι· καὶ εἴ πού γε φανείη μόνον, ἐδείκνυτο ἂν τῷ δακτύλῳ, Οὗτος ἐκεῖνος Ἡρόδοτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰς μάχας τὰς Περσικὰς Ἰαστὶ συγγεγραφώς, ὁ τὰς νίκας ἡμῶν ὑμνήσας. τοιαῦτα ἐκεῖνος ἀπέλαυσε τῶν ἱστοριῶν, ἐν μιᾷ συνόδῳ πάνδημόν τινα καὶ κοινὴν ψῆφον τῆς Ἑλλάδος λαβὼν καὶ ἀνακηρυχθεὶς οὐχ ὑφ' ἑνὸς μὰ Δία κήρυκος, ἀλλ' ἐν ἁπάσῃ πόλει, ὅθεν ἕκαστος ἦν τῶν πανηγυριστῶν.

3 Ὅπερ ὕστερον κατανοήσαντες, ἐπίτομόν τινα ταύτην ὁδὸν ἐς γνῶσιν, Ἱππίας τε ὁ ἐπιχώριος αὐτῶν σοφιστὴς καὶ Πρόδικος ὁ Κεῖος καὶ Ἀναξιμένης ὁ Χῖος καὶ Πῶλος ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ λόγους ἔλεγον ἀεὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν πανήγυριν, ἀφ' ὧν γνώριμοι ἐν βραχεῖ ἐγίγνοντο.

4 Καὶ τί σοι τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐκείνους λέγω σοφιστὰς καὶ συγγραφέας καὶ λογογράφους ὅπου τὰ τελευταῖα ταῦτα καὶ Ἀετίωνά φασι τὸν ζωγράφον

could. The great Olympian games were at hand, and Herodotus thought this the opportunity he had been hoping for. He waited for a packed audience to assemble, one containing the most eminent men from all Greece; he appeared in the temple chamber, presenting himself as a competitor for an Olympic honour, not as a spectator; then he recited his *Histories* and so bewitched his audience that his books were called after the Muses, for they too were nine in number.

By this time he was much better known than the Olympic victors themselves. There was no one who had not heard the name of Herodotus—some at Olympia itself, others from those who brought the story back from the festival. He had only to appear and he was pointed out: "That is that Herodotus who wrote the tale of the Persian Wars in Ionic and celebrated our victories." Such were the fruits of his *Histories.* In a single meeting he won the universal approbation of all Greece and his name was proclaimed not indeed just by one herald but in every city that had sent spectators to the festival.

The lesson was learnt. This was the short-cut to glory. Hippias the sophist was a native of the place, and he and Prodicus from Ceos and Anaximenes from Chios and Polus from Acragas and scores of others always gave their recitations in person before the assembled spectators and by this means soon won reputations.

But why need I mention those old sophists, historians, and chroniclers when there is the recent story of Aëtion the painter who showed off his

συγγράψαντα τὸν Ῥωξάνης καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου γάμον εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντα τὴν εἰκόνα ἐπιδείξασθαι, ὥστε Προξενίδαν Ἑλλανοδίκην τότε ὄντα ἡσθέντα τῇ τέχνῃ γαμβρὸν ποιήσασθαι τὸν Ἀετίωνα;

5 Καὶ τί τὸ θαῦμα ἐνῆν τῇ γραφῇ αὐτοῦ, ἤρετό τις, ὡς τὸν Ἑλλανοδίκην δι' αὐτὸ οὐκ ἐπιχωρίῳ τῷ Ἀετίωνι συνάψασθαι τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸν γάμον; ἔστιν ἡ εἰκὼν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, κἀγὼ εἶδον ὥστε καὶ σοὶ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμι. θάλαμός ἐστι περικαλλὴς καὶ κλίνη νυμφική, καὶ ἡ Ῥωξάνη κάθηται πάγκαλόν τι χρῆμα παρθένου ἐς γῆν ὁρῶσα, αἰδουμένη ἑστῶτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. Ἔρωτες δέ τινες μειδιῶντες· ὁ μὲν κατόπιν ἐφεστὼς ἀπάγει τῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν καλύπτραν καὶ δείκνυσι τῷ νυμφίῳ τὴν Ῥωξάνην, ὁ δέ τις μάλα δουλικῶς ἀφαιρεῖ τὸ σανδάλιον ἐκ τοῦ ποδός ὡς κατακλίνοιτο ἤδη, ἄλλος τῆς χλανίδος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπειλημμένος, Ἔρως καὶ οὗτος, ἕλκει αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν Ῥωξάνην πάνυ βιαίως ἐπισπώμενος. ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν στέφανόν τινα ὀρέγει τῇ παιδί, πάροχος δὲ καὶ νυμφαγωγὸς Ἡφαιστίων συμπάρεστι δᾷδα καιομένην ἔχων, μειρακίῳ πάνυ ὡραίῳ ἐπερειδόμενος—Ὑμέναιος οἶμαί ἐστιν (οὐ γὰρ ἐπεγέγραπτο τοὔνομα). ἑτέρωθι δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος ἄλλοι Ἔρωτες παίζουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, δύο μὲν τὴν λόγχην αὐτοῦ φέροντες, μιμούμενοι τοὺς ἀχθοφόρους ὁπότε δοκὸν φέροντες βαροῖντο· ἄλλοι δὲ δύο ἕνα τινὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος κατακείμενον, βασιλέα δῆθεν καὶ αὐτόν, σύρουσιν τῶν ὀχάνων τῆς ἀσπίδος ἐπειλημμένοι· εἷς δὲ δὴ ἐς τὸν θώρακα ἐσελθὼν ὕπτιον κείμενον λοχῶντι

picture of *The Marriage of Roxana and Alexander* at Olympia? Proxenides, one of the chief judges there at that time, was delighted with his talent and made Aëtion his son-in-law.

You may well wonder at the quality of his work that induced a chief judge of the games to give his daughter in marriage to a stranger like Aëtion. The picture is actually in Italy; I have seen it myself and can describe it to you. The scene is a very beautiful chamber, and in it there is a bridal couch with Roxana, a very lovely maiden, sitting upon it, her eyes cast down in modesty, for Alexander is standing there. There are smiling Cupids: one is standing behind her removing the veil from her head and showing Roxana to her husband; another like a true servant is taking the sandal off her foot, already preparing her for bed; a third Cupid has hold of Alexander's cloak and is pulling him with all his might towards Roxana. The king himself is holding out a garland to the maiden and their best man and helper, Hephaestion, is there with a blazing torch in his hand, leaning on a very handsome youth —I think he is Hymenaeus [1] (his name is not inscribed). On the other side of the picture are more Cupids playing among Alexander's armour; [2] two of them are carrying his spear, pretending to be labourers burdened under a beam; two others are dragging a third, their king no doubt, on the shield, holding it by the handgrips; another has gone inside the corslet, which is lying breast-up on the ground—he seems to

[1] God of marriages.

[2] Botticelli copied this motif in his *Mars and Venus* in the National Gallery, London.

ἔοικεν, ὡς φοβήσειεν αὐτούς, ὁπότε κατ' αὐτὸν γένοιντο σύροντες.

6 *Οὐ παιδιὰ δὲ ἄλλως ταῦτά ἐστιν οὐδὲ περιείργασται ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀετίων, ἀλλὰ δηλοῖ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὸν ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἔρωτα, καὶ ὅτι ἅμα καὶ Ῥωξάνης ἤρα καὶ τῶν ὅπλων οὐκ ἐπελέλησto. πλὴν ἀλλ' ἥ γε εἰκὼν αὐτὴ καὶ ἄλλως γαμήλιόν τι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας διεφάνη ἔχουσα, προμνησαμένη τῷ Ἀετίωνι τὴν τοῦ Προξενίδου θυγατέρα. καὶ ἀπῆλθε γήμας καὶ αὐτός, πάρεργον τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου γάμων, ὑπὸ νυμφαγωγῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ, μισθὸν εἰκασμένου γάμου προσλαβὼν ἀληθῆ γάμον.*

7 *Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὖν (ἐπάνειμι γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον) ἱκανὴν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων τὴν πανήγυριν ἡγεῖτο καὶ συγγραφέα θαυμαστὸν δεῖξαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς νίκας διεξιόντα,[1] ὡς ἐκεῖνος διεξῆλθεν. ἐγὼ δὲ—καὶ πρὸς Φιλίου μή με κορυβαντιᾶν ὑπολάβητε μηδὲ τἀμὰ εἰκάζειν τοῖς ἐκείνου, ἵλεως ὁ ἀνήρ—ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε ὅμοιον παθεῖν φημι αὐτῷ. ὅτε γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεδήμησα τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἐσκόπουν ὅ τι μοι χρηστέον τῷ πράγματι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔρως οὗτος ἦν ἅπασιν ὑμῖν γνωσθῆναι καὶ ὅτι πλείστοις Μακεδόνων δεῖξαι τἀμά· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸν περιιόντα τηνικαῦτα τοῦ ἔτους συγγίγνεσθαι τῇ πόλει ἑκάστῃ οὐκ εὐμαρὲς ἐφαίνετο, εἰ δὲ τηρήσαιμι τήνδε ὑμῶν τὴν σύνοδον, εἶτα παρελθὼν ἐς μέσον δείξαιμι τὸν λόγον, ἐς δέον οὕτως ἀποβήσεσθαί μοι τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς.*

8 *Αὐτοί τε οὖν ἤδη συνεληλύθατε, ὅ τι περ ὄφελος ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως, αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἁπάντων Μακεδόνων, καὶ ὑποδέχεται πόλις ἡ ἀρίστη οὖσα*

be lying in ambush to frighten the others when they drag the shield past him.

All this is not needless triviality and a waste of labour. Aëtion is calling attention to Alexander's other love—War—, implying that in his love of Roxana he did not forget his armour. A further point about the picture itself is that it had a real matrimonial significance of quite a different sort—it courted Proxenides' daughter for Aëtion! So as a by-product of his *Alexander's Wedding* he came away with a wife himself and the King for best-man. His reward for his marriage of the imagination was a real-life marriage of his own.

Herodotus then (to return to him) thought the Olympic festival a suitable shop-window for showing the Greeks such a wonderful historian of the Greek victories as himself. As for me—and in the name of the God of Friendship do not think me mad or that I am comparing my works to his, bless him—I declare that my case and his are alike. When I first came to live in Macedonia, I wondered what should be policy. My dearest wish was to become known to you all and to show off my works to as many in Macedonia as I could; but to go round visiting each city in person at that time of the year seemed an arduous undertaking, whereas I thought that if I took the occasion of this present festival of your nation and made my appearance and gave my lecture then, my prayers must surely be answered.

Here you are then gathered together, the cream of every city, the very epitome of all Macedonia, in the country's finest city, so different, thank good-

[1] So Marcilius and Solanus: MSS. om. *νίκας*: *δεῖξαι τοῖς Ἑλληνικὰς διεξιόντας* Γ.

οὐ κατὰ Πίσαν μὰ Δί' οὐδὲ τὴν κεῖθι στενοχωρίαν καὶ σκηνὰς καὶ καλύβας καὶ πνῖγος· οἵ τε αὖ πανηγυρισταὶ οὐ συρφετώδης ὄχλος, ἀθλητῶν μᾶλλον φιλοθεάμονες, ἐν παρέργῳ οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον τιθέμενοι, ἀλλὰ ῥητόρων τε καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ σοφιστῶν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι—ὅσον οὐ μικρὸν ἤδη, μὴ τοὐμὸν παρὰ πολὺ ἐνδεέστερον φαίνηται τῶν Ὀλυμπίων. ἀλλ' ἢν μὲν ὑμεῖς Πολυδάμαντι ἢ Γλαύκῳ ἢ Μίλωνι παραθεωρῆτέ με, κομιδῇ ὑμῖν δόξω θρασὺς ἄνθρωπος εἶναι. ἢν δὲ πολὺ ἐκείνων ἀπαγαγόντες τὴν μνήμην ἐπ' ἐμαυτοῦ μόνου ἀποδύσαντες ἴδητε, τάχ' ἂν οὐ πάνυ μαστιγώσιμος ὑμῖν δόξαιμι. ὡς ἔν γε τηλικούτῳ σταδίῳ ἱκανὸν ἐμοὶ γοῦν καὶ τοῦτο.

ness, from Pisa with its lack of space, its tents and huts, its stifling heat; nor is my audience a vulgar mob more keen on seeing athletics, most of them thinking Herodotus of secondary importance. No, there are the finest orators, historians, and rhetoricians—no small matter indeed that my arena should not seem far inferior to Olympia. Compare me with Polydamas, Glaucus, and Milo, and I know that you will judge me imprudent. But remember them less and strip me and look at me as I am, and then perhaps you will not find me altogether deserving of the whip. My arena being what it is, I should not find even this judgment unsatisfactory.

ZEUXIS OR ANTIOCHUS

An introduction, as appears from the last paragraph. A disquisition on novelty serves to introduce accounts of a painting by Zeuxis (fl. *c*. 400 B.C.) and the 'Elephant Battle' between Antiochus Soter and the Galatian invaders of Asia Minor (276 B.C.).

ΖΕΥΞΙΣ Η ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ

1 Ἔναγχος ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν δείξας τὸν λόγον ἀπῄειν οἴκαδε, προσιόντες δέ μοι τῶν ἀκηκοότων πολλοὶ (κωλύει γὰρ οὐδέν οἶμαι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς φίλους ἤδη ὄντας ὑμᾶς λέγειν)—προσιόντες οὖν ἐδεξιοῦντο καὶ θαυμάζουσιν ἐῴκεσαν. ἐπὶ πολὺ γοῦν παρομαρτοῦντες ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν ἐβόων καὶ ἐπῄνουν ἄχρι τοῦ[1] καὶ ἐρυθριᾶν με, μὴ ἄρα πάμπολυ τῆς ἀξίας τῶν ἐπαίνων ἀπολειποίμην. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ἦν, καὶ πάντες ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπεσημαίνοντο, τὴν γνώμην τῶν συγγραμμάτων ξένην οὖσαν καὶ πολὺν ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν νεωτερισμόν. μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὰ εἰπεῖν ἄμεινον ἅπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεφθέγγοντο·[2] "Ὢ τῆς καινότητος. Ἡράκλεις, τῆς παραδοξολογίας. εὐμήχανος ἄνθρωπος. οὐδὲν ἄν τις εἴποι τῆς ἐπινοίας νεαρώτερον." οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔλεγον, ὡς ἐκεκίνηντο δηλαδὴ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκροάσεως. ἢ τίνα γὰρ ἂν αἰτίαν εἶχον ψεύδεσθαι καὶ κολακεύειν τὰ τοιαῦτα ξένον ἄνθρωπον, οὐ πάνυ πολλῆς αὐτοῖς φροντίδος ἄξιον τὰ ἄλλα;

2 Πλὴν ἐμέ γε (εἰρήσεται γάρ) οὐ μετρίως ἠνία ὁ ἔπαινος αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπειδή ποτε ἀπελθόντων κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἐγενόμην ἐκεῖνα ἐνενόουν· οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μόνον χάριεν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἔνεστιν, ὅτι μὴ συνήθη μηδὲ κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν βαδίζει τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὀνομάτων δὲ ἄρα καλῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχαῖον

ZEUXIS OR ANTIOCHUS

Recently I was on my way home after lecturing to you, when a number of my recent audience met me (I see no objection to telling you a story like this now that you and I are friends)—they met me, then, and after greeting me gave some indication of approval. They accompanied me for some distance, vying in noisy praise until I blushed for shame at the thought that I fell far short of their praises. The substance of their approbation, which all alike emphasised, was the strangeness of the thought in my composition and the degree of freshness it displayed. It would be better to quote verbatim: "What novelty! What marvellous paradoxes! How inventive he is! The freshness of thought is beyond compare!" They continued in this strain. They had clearly been taken with the lecture—I don't suppose they could have any reason for telling lies and flattering a stranger as they did, one who had no other reason for claiming their attention.

To be honest, however, their praise caused me considerable annoyance, and when they had gone and I was left alone, I reflected as follows: "So this is the only attraction in my writings, that they are unconventional and keep off the beaten track, while good vocabulary, conformity to the ancient canon,

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[1] τοῦ Jacobs and Schaefer : που MSS.
[2] ἐπεφθ. Fritzsche : ἀπεφθ. MSS.

κανόνα συγκειμένων ἢ νοῦ ὀξέος ἢ περινοίας τινὸς ἢ χάριτος Ἀττικῆς ἢ ἁρμονίας ἢ τέχνης τῆς ἐφ' ἅπασι, τούτων δὲ πόρρω ἴσως τοὐμόν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν παρέντες αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ἐπῄνουν μόνον τὸ καινὸν τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ ξενίζον. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ μάταιος ᾤμην, ὁπότε ἀναπηδῶντες ἐπαινοῖεν, τάχα μέν τι[1] καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσάγεσθαι αὐτούς· ἀληθὲς γὰρ εἶναι τὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου, καὶ τὴν νέαν ᾠδὴν κεχαρισμένην ὑπάρχειν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν· οὐ μὴν τοσοῦτόν γε οὐδὲ[2] ὅλον τῇ καινότητι νέμειν ἠξίουν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ὥσπερ ἐν προσθήκης μοίρᾳ συνεπικοσμεῖν τι καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἔπαινον συντελεῖν καὶ αὐτήν, τὰ δὲ τῷ ὄντι ἐπαινούμενα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκουόντων εὐφημούμενα ἐκεῖνα εἶναι. ὥστε οὐ μετρίως ἐπήρμην καὶ ἐκινδύνευον πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς ἕνα καὶ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἄνθρακες ἡμῶν ὁ θησαυρὸς ἦσαν, καὶ ὀλίγου δέω θαυματοποιοῦ τινος ἔπαινον ἐπαινεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν.

3 Ἐθέλω γοῦν ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ τοῦ γραφέως διηγήσασθαι. ὁ Ζεῦξις ἐκεῖνος ἄριστος γραφέων γενόμενος τὰ δημώδη καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔγραφεν, ἢ ὅσα πάνυ ὀλίγα, ἥρωας ἢ θεοὺς ἢ πολέμους, ἀεὶ δὲ καινοποιεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο καί τι ἀλλόκοτον ἂν καὶ ξένον ἐπινοήσας ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς τέχνης ἐπεδείκνυτο. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τολμήμασι καὶ θήλειαν Ἱπποκένταυρον ὁ Ζεῦξις οὗτος[3] ἐποίησεν, ἀνατρέφουσάν γε προσέτι παιδίω Ἱπποκενταύρω διδύμω κομιδῇ νηπίω. τῆς εἰκόνος ταύτης ἀντίγραφός ἐστι νῦν Ἀθήνησι πρὸς αὐτὴν

[1] μέν τι Fritzsche : μέντοι MSS.
[2] οὐδὲ Jacobitz : οὔτε MSS.

penetration of intellect, power of perception, Attic grace, good construction, general competence, perhaps have no place in my work. Otherwise they would not have ignored these qualities and praised only the novel and strange element in my style. I, fool that I was, had thought when they rose in approbation that perhaps this particular feature too had some attraction for them—I remembered the truth of Homer's remark [1] that the new song takes the fancy of an audience; but I did not think to attribute so much—indeed all of it—to novelty, but supposed novelty to be a kind of additional ornament making some contribution indeed to the approbation of my work, the audience's real praise and commendation, however, going to those other qualities. As a result my elation overstepped its bounds—to think I nearly believed them when they called me unique and in a class apart in Greece and other flatteries of this kind. In the words of the proverb, my treasure turned out ashes, and their approval is not much different from that which they would give a conjurer.

I want to give you an example from a painter. Zeuxis, that pre-eminent artist, avoided painting popular and hackneyed themes as far as he could (I mean heroes, gods, wars); he was always aiming at novelty, and whenever he thought up something unheard-of and strange he showed the precision of his craftsmanship by depicting it. Among the bold innovations of this Zeuxis was his painting of a female Hippocentaur, one moreover that was feeding twin Hippocentaur children, no more than babies. There is a copy of this picture now at Athens made with

[1] *Od.* i, 352.

[3] οὗτος Hartmann: αὐτὸς MSS. (om. Bodl.).

ἐκείνην ἀκριβεῖ τῇ στάθμῃ μετενηνεγμένη. τὸ ἀρχέτυπον δὲ αὐτὸ Σύλλας ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἐλέγετο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς Ἰταλίαν πεπομφέναι, εἶτα περὶ Μαλέαν οἶμαι καταδύσης τῆς ὁλκάδος ἀπολέσθαι ἅπαντα καὶ τὴν γραφήν. πλὴν ἀλλὰ τήν γε εἰκόνα τῆς εἰκόνος εἶδον, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ὡς ἂν οἷός τε ὦ δείξω τῷ λόγῳ, οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία γραφικός τις ὤν, ἀλλὰ πάνυ μέμνημαι οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἰδὼν ἔν τινος τῶν γραφέων Ἀθήνησι. καὶ τὸ ὑπερθαυμάσαι τότε τὴν τέχνην τάχ' ἄν μοι καὶ νῦν πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερον δηλῶσαι συναγωνίσαιτο.

4 *Ἐπὶ χλόης εὐθαλοῦς ἡ Κένταυρος αὕτη πεποίηται ὅλη μὲν τῇ ἵππῳ χαμαὶ κειμένη, καὶ ἀποτέτανται εἰς τοὐπίσω οἱ πόδες· τὸ δὲ γυναικεῖον ὅσον αὐτῆς ἠρέμα ἐπεγήγερται* [1] *καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκῶνός ἐστιν, οἱ δὲ πόδες οἱ ἔμπροσθεν οὐκέτι καὶ οὗτοι ἀποτάδην, οἷον ἐπὶ πλευρὰν κειμένης, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὀκλάζοντι ἔοικεν ὢν καμπύλος ὑπεσταλμένῃ τῇ ὁπλῇ, ὁ δὲ ἔμπαλιν ἐπανίσταται καὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἀντιλαμβάνεται, οἷοί εἰσιν ἵπποι πειρώμενοι ἀναπηδᾶν. τοῖν νεογνοῖν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄνω ἔχει αὐτὴ ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις καὶ τρέφει ἀνθρωπικῶς ἐπέχουσα τὸν γυναικεῖον μαστόν, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἐκ τῆς ἵππου θηλάζει ἐς τὸν πωλικὸν τρόπον. ἄνω δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος οἷον ἀπό τινος σκοπῆς Ἱπποκένταυρός τις, ἀνὴρ ἐκείνης δηλαδὴ τῆς τὰ βρέφη ἀμφοτέρωθεν τιθηνουμένης, ἐπικύπτει γελῶν οὐχ ὅλος φαινόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐς μέσον τὸν ἵππον, λέοντος σκύμνον ἀνέχων τῇ δεξιᾷ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτὸν αἰωρῶν, ὡς δεδίξαιτο σὺν παιδιᾷ τὰ βρέφη.*

[1] *ἐπεγήγερται* Jacobitz : *ἐπεγείγερται* Bodl. : *ἐπήγερται* MSS. [*ἐπείγερται ?* Γ]

strict accuracy from the original. Sulla, the Roman commander, was said to have sent off the original with his other trophies to Italy, but I suppose the ship then sank off Malea[1] with the loss of all its cargo, including the painting. However that may be, I saw the copy of the painting and will describe it to you as far as I can, though I am certainly no artist. I remember it quite well, as I saw it not long ago in the house of a painter in Athens. The intense admiration I felt at the time for the craftsmanship will perhaps help me in my endeavour to give you a full description.

The Centaur herself is depicted lying on fresh young grass with all the horse part of her on the ground. Her feet are stretched behind her. The human part is slightly raised up on her elbows. Her fore-feet are not now stretched out, as you might expect with one lying on her side; one foot is bent with the hoof drawn under like one who kneels, while the other on the other hand is beginning to straighten and is taking a grip on the ground, as is the case with horses striving to spring up. She holds one of her offspring aloft in her arms, giving it the breast in human fashion; the other she suckles from her mare's teat like an animal. Towards the top of the picture, apparently on some vantage point, is a Hippocentaur, clearly the husband of her who is feeding her children in two ways. He is leaning down and laughing. He is not completely visible, but only to a point halfway down his horse body. He holds aloft in his right hand a lion's whelp, suspending it above his head to frighten the children in his fun.

[1] Cape Malea, in the southern Peloponnese.

5 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα τῆς γραφῆς, ἐφ' ὅσα τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἡμῖν οὐ πάντη ἐμφανῆ ὄντα τὴν ὅλην ἔχει ὅμως δύναμιν τῆς τέχνης—οἷον τὸ ἀποτεῖναι τὰς γραμμὰς ἐς τὸ εὐθύτατον καὶ τῶν χρωμάτων ἀκριβῆ τὴν κρᾶσιν καὶ εὔκαιρον τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ποιήσασθαι καὶ σκιάσαι ἐς δέον καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν τῶν μερῶν πρὸς τὸ ὅλον ἰσότητα καὶ ἁρμονίαν—γραφέων παῖδες ἐπαινούντων, οἷς ἔργον εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ Ζεύξιδος ἐκεῖνο μάλιστα ἐπήνεσα, ὅτι ἐν μιᾷ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ὑποθέσει ποικίλως τὸ περιττὸν ἐπεδείξατο τῆς τέχνης, τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ποιήσας πάντη φοβερὸν καὶ κομιδῇ ἄγριον, σοβαρὸν τῇ χαίτῃ, λάσιον τὰ πολλὰ οὐ κατὰ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ στέρνον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὤμους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον,[1] τὸ βλέμμα, καίτοι γελῶντος, θηριῶδες ὅλον ὄρειόν τι καὶ ἀνήμερον.

6 Τοιοῦτον μὲν ἐκεῖνον. τὴν θήλειαν δὲ ἵππου τε [2] τῆς καλλίστης, οἷαι μάλιστα αἱ Θετταλαί εἰσιν, ἀδμῆτες ἔτι καὶ ἄβατοι, τὸ δὲ ἄνω ἡμίτομον γυναικὸς πάγκαλον ἔξω τῶν ὤτων· ἐκεῖνα δὲ μόνα σατυρώδη ἐστὶν αὐτῇ. καὶ ἡ μῖξις δὲ καὶ ἡ ἁρμογὴ τῶν σωμάτων, καθ' ὃ συνάπτεται καὶ συνδεῖται τῷ γυναικείῳ τὸ ἱππικόν, ἠρέμα καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόως μεταβαίνουσα καὶ ἐκ προσαγωγῆς τρεπομένη λανθάνει τὴν ὄψιν ἐκ θατέρου εἰς τὸ ἕτερον ὑπαγομένη. τῶν νεογνῶν δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ νηπίῳ [3] ὅμως ἄγριον καὶ ἐν τῷ ἁπαλῷ ἤδη φοβερόν, καὶ τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν οἷον ἔδοξέ μοι, καὶ ὅτι παιδικῶς

[1] So Rothstein: ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἕτερον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἐξάρας αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὤμους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον MSS.: ἵππον σοβαρὸν ἄγριον κομιδῇ λάσιον τῇ χαίτῃ στέρνον τε καὶ ὤμους Bodl.

The other qualities, not completely discernible by the eye of an amateur like myself, nevertheless display the whole power of his craftsmanship—such things as precision of line, accuracy in the blending of colours, taste in application of the paint, correct use of shadow, good perspective, proportion, and symmetry. But let the sons of artists appreciate these points, men who make it their business to know them. For my part I praised Zeuxis for this in particular, that in one and the same subject he has shown his extraordinary craftsmanship in so many ways. His husband is completely frightening and absolutely wild; he has a proud mane, being almost completely covered in hair—not only the horse part of him but his human chest as well and especially his shoulders, and his glance, although he is laughing, is altogether savage, wild, and of the hills.

Such then is the husband. The horse part of the female he made is most beautiful, with a strong resemblance to Thessalian fillies when they are still untamed and virgin. The top half is that of a very beautiful woman, apart from the ears, which alone of her features are those of a satyr. The union and junction of bodies whereby the horse part is fused with the woman part and joined to it is effected by a gradual change, with no abrupt transition; the eye, as it moves gradually from one to the other, is quite deceived by the subtle change. In the case of the young, their babyhood is wild and already fearsome in its gentleness—I thought this a wonderful touch. I admired too the very babylike way in

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[2] τε Fritzsche: γε MSS.
[3] ἐν τῷ νηπίῳ Granovius: ἐν τῶν νηπίων MSS.

μάλα πρὸς τὸν σκύμνον τοῦ λέοντος ἀναβλέπουσι, μεταξὺ τῆς θηλῆς ἑκάτερος ἐπειλημμένοι ἐν χρῷ τῇ μητρὶ προσιστάμενοι.

7 *Ταῦτα δ' οὖν ἐπιδειξάμενος ὁ Ζεῦξις αὐτὸς μὲν ᾤετο ἐκπλήξειν τοὺς ὁρῶντας ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ, οἱ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐβόων—ἢ τί γὰρ ἂν ἐποίουν καλλίστῳ θεάματι ἐντυγχάνοντες; ἐπῄνουν δὲ μάλιστα πάντες ἅπερ κἀμὲ πρῴην ἐκεῖνοι, τῆς ἐπινοίας τὸ ξένον καὶ τὴν γνώμην τῆς γραφῆς ὡς νέαν καὶ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἀγνῶτα οὖσαν.*[1] *ὥστε ὁ Ζεῦξις συνεὶς ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀσχολεῖ ἡ ὑπόθεσις καινὴ οὖσα καὶ ἀπάγει τῆς τέχνης, ὡς ἐν παρέργῳ τίθεσθαι τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν πραγμάτων, Ἄγε δή, ἔφη, ὦ Μικίων, πρὸς τὸν μαθητήν, περίβαλε ἤδη τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ἀράμενοι ἀποκομίζετε οἴκαδε. οὗτοι γὰρ ἡμῶν τὸν πηλὸν τῆς τέχνης ἐπαινοῦσι, τῶν δὲ αὖ φώτων*[2] *εἰ καλῶς ἔχει καὶ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην, οὐ πολὺν ποιοῦνται λόγον, ἀλλὰ παρευδοκιμεῖ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν ἔργων ἡ τῆς ὑποθέσεως καινοτομία.*

8 *Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ζεῦξις οὕτως, ὀργιλώτερον ἴσως. Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ σωτὴρ ἐπικληθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὅμοιόν τι παθεῖν λέγεται ἐν τῇ πρὸς Γαλάτας μάχῃ. εἰ βούλεσθε, διηγήσομαι καὶ τοῦτο, ὁποῖον ἐγένετο. εἰδὼς γὰρ τούτους ἀλκίμους ὄντας καὶ πλήθει παμπόλλους ὁρῶν καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα καρτερῶς συναραρυῖαν καὶ ἐπὶ μετώπου μὲν προασπίζοντας τοὺς χαλκοθώρακας αὐτῶν, ἐς βάθος δὲ ἐπὶ τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοσι τεταγμένους ὁπλίτας, ἐπὶ κέρως δ' ἑκατέρωθεν τὴν ἵππον δισμυρίαν οὖσαν,*

[1] *ἀγνῶτα οὖσαν* Fritzsche: *ἧττον ἔτι οὖσαν* ΓΧΜ: *ἠγνοημένην οὖσαν* N.

which both young were looking up at the lion cub as they sucked at the nipple, holding close and nestling against their mother.

Zeuxis thought that this picture would send his viewers into raptures over his skill when they saw it. They certainly applauded it—what else could they do when they met a sight so lovely to gaze upon? But everyone's warmest praise went to the points they praised in me too just recently; it was the strangeness of the idea, and the freshness of the sentiment of the work, quite unprecedented, that struck them. So when Zeuxis saw that the novelty of the subject was taking their attention and distracting them from the technique of the work, and that the accuracy of detail was taking second place, he said to his pupil: "Come on, Micio, cover up the picture and all of you pick it up and take it home. These spectators are praising only the mere clay of my work, but as to the effects of light, they do not worry much whether they are beautiful and skilfully executed, and the novelty of the subject goes for more than the accuracy of its parts."

That is what Zeuxis said, not without some feeling perhaps. Antiochus—the one called the Saviour—is said to have had a similar experience in the battle against the Galatians. If you agree I'll tell you this story too. He knew that they were bold fighters and saw that there were many of them, and that their phalanx was compact and firm, with their bronze-clad warriors in the van and heavy-armed troops in the rear to a depth of twenty-four ranks, and that on either flank there were 20,000 cavalry,

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[2] τῶν δὲ αὖ φώτων Γ: τῶν δ'ἐφ' ὅτῳ N.

ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μέσου τὰ ἅρματα ἐκπηδήσεσθαι μέλλοντα δρεπανηφόρα ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ συνωρίδας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δὶς τοσαύτας, ταῦτα ὁρῶν πάνυ πονηρὰς εἶχε τὰς ἐλπίδας, ὡς ἀμάχων ὄντων ἐκείνων αὐτῷ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ δι' ὀλίγου τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκείνης παρασκευασθείσης οὐ μεγαλωστὶ οὐδὲ κατ' ἀξίαν τοῦ πολέμου ἀφίκετο κομιδῇ ὀλίγους ἄγων, καὶ τούτων πελταστικὸν τὸ πολὺ καὶ ψιλικόν· οἱ γυμνῆτες δὲ ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦσαν. ὥστε ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἤδη σπένδεσθαι καί τινα εὐπρεπῆ διάλυσιν εὑρίσκεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου.

9 Ἀλλὰ Θεοδότας ὁ Ῥόδιος, ἀνὴρ γενναῖος καὶ τακτικῶν ἔμπειρος, οὐκ εἴα παρὼν ἀθυμεῖν. καὶ ἦσαν γὰρ ἑκκαίδεκα ἐλέφαντες τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ. τούτους ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Θεοδότας τέως μὲν ἔχειν ὡς οἷόν τε κατακρύψαντα, ὡς μὴ κατάδηλοι εἶεν ὑπερφαινόμενοι τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἐπειδὰν δὲ σημήνῃ ὁ σαλπιγκτὴς καὶ δέῃ συμπλέκεσθαι καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἡ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπελαύνηται καὶ τὰ ἅρματα οἱ Γαλάται ἀνοίξαντες τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ διαστήσαντες ἐπαφῶσι, τότε ἀνὰ τέτταρας μὲν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀπαντᾶν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, τοὺς ὀκτὼ δὲ ἀντεπαφεῖναι τοῖς ἁρματηλάταις καὶ συνωριασταῖς. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο γένοιτο, φοβηθήσονται αὐτῶν, ἔφη, οἱ ἵπποι καὶ ἐς τοὺς Γαλάτας αὖθις ἐμπεσοῦνται φεύγοντες.

10 καὶ οὕτως ἐγένετο. οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἰδόντες ἐλέφαντα οὔτε αὐτοὶ Γαλάται οὔτε οἱ ἵπποι αὐτῶν οὕτω πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον τῆς ὄψεως ἐταράχθησαν, ὥστε πόρρω ἔτι τῶν θηρίων ὄντων ἐπεὶ μόνον τετριγότων ἤκουσαν καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας εἶδον ἀποστίλβοντας ἐπισημότερον ὡς ἂν ἐκ μέλανος

while in the centre were eighty scythed chariots and twice as many two-horse chariots ready to make a sally. Antiochus then thought little of his chances of defeating such an invincible array. His own force had been hurriedly prepared and was not impressive or strong enough for the engagement. He had very few men, mostly targeteers and light-armed troops—light infantry made up over half of his force. Consequently he thought it prudent to make an immediate truce and to come to some honourable arrangement for putting an end to the war.

He had with him, however, Theodotas of Rhodes, a fine soldier and skilful tactician, and this man's presence restored his confidence. Now Antiochus had sixteen elephants, and Theodotas told him to keep them hidden as much as possible so they should not be seen towering above the troops; on the signal for battle just when the fighting was to start and the troops to come to grips and the enemy's cavalry charged, the Galatians would open their phalanx and stand aside to let the chariots through; at that moment a group of four elephants should be sent against the cavalry on either flank, the remaining eight attacking the scythed and two-horse chariots. Such a movement, said Theodotas, would frighten their horses and turn them back in flight against the Galatian ranks. So it turned out. Neither the Galatians themselves nor their horses had previously seen an elephant and they were so confused by the unexpected sight that, while the beasts were still a long way off and they could only hear the trumpet, ing and see their tusks gleaming all the more brightly against their bodies dark all over and their trunks

τοῦ παντὸς σώματος καὶ τὰς προνομαίας ὡς ἐς ἁρπαγὴν ὑπεραιωρουμένας, πρὶν ἢ τὸ τόξευμα ἐξικνεῖσθαι, ἐκκλίναντες σὺν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔφευγον, οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ περιπειρόμενοι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων τοῖς δορατίοις καὶ συμπατούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ὡς εἶχον ἐμπεσόντων ἐπ' αὐτούς, τὰ ἅρματα δέ, ἀναστρέψαντα καὶ ταῦτα ἔμπαλιν εἰς τοὺς οἰκείους, οὐκ ἀναιμωτὶ διεφέρετο ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου, "δίφροι δ' ἀνεκυμβαλίαζον." οἱ ἵπποι δ' ἐπείπερ ἅπαξ τῆς ἐς τὸ εὐθὺ ὁδοῦ ἀπετρέποντο οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι τῶν ἐλεφάντων, τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀποβαλόντες "κείν' ὄχεα κροτάλιζον" τέμνοντες νὴ Δία καὶ διαιροῦντες τοῖς δρεπάνοις εἴ τινας τῶν φίλων καταλάβοιεν. πολλοὶ δὲ ὡς ἐν ταράχῳ τοσούτῳ κατελαμβάνοντο. εἵποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες συμπατοῦντες καὶ ἀναρριπτοῦντες ταῖς προνομαίαις ἐς ὕψος καὶ συναρπάζοντες καὶ τοῖς ὀδοῦσι περιπείροντες, καὶ τέλος οὗτοι κατὰ κράτος παραδιδόασι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ τὴν νίκην.

11 Οἱ Γαλάται δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐτεθνήκεσαν, πολλοῦ τοῦ φόνου γενομένου, οἱ δὲ ζῶντες ἐλαμβάνοντο, πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγοι ὁπόσοι ἔφθασαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη ἀναφυγόντες, οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ὅσοι σὺν Ἀντιόχῳ ἦσαν, ἐπαιώνιζον καὶ προσιόντες ἄλλος ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνέδουν τὸν βασιλέα καλλίνικον ἀναβοῶντες. ὁ δὲ καὶ δακρύσας, ὥς φασιν, Αἰσχυνώμεθα, ἔφη, ὦ στρατιῶται, οἷς γε ἡ σωτηρία ἐν ἑκκαίδεκα τούτοις θηρίοις ἐγένετο· ὡς εἰ μὴ τὸ καινὸν τοῦ θεάματος ἐξέπληξε τοὺς πολεμίους, τί ἂν ἡμεῖς ἦμεν πρὸς αὐτούς; ἔπι τε τῷ τροπαίῳ κελεύει ἄλλο μηδέν, ἐλέφαντα δὲ μόνον ἐγκολάψαι.

12 Ὥρα τοίνυν με σκοπεῖν μὴ καὶ τοὐμὸν ὅμοιον ᾖ

raised like hooks, they turned and fled in a disorderly rout before they were within bowshot. Their infantry were impaled on each other's spears and trampled underfoot as they were, by the cavalry, which came riding into them. The chariots too turned back against their own men and broke their ranks, not without bloodshed—in the words of Homer "the chariots clattered as they overturned."[1] Once the horses had veered from their straight course in their fear of the elephants, they threw off their drivers and the "empty chariots rattled on,"[2] actually tearing and cutting with their scythes any of their own men in their path. Many men were caught since there was utter confusion. The elephants followed, trampling on them, tossing them aloft in their trunks, snatching and piercing them with their tusks, and in the end these animals had presented Antiochus with an overwhelming victory.

The Galatians lost many killed in the great slaughter. The rest were taken prisoner, except for a very few who escaped to the mountains in time. Antiochus's Macedonian contingent raised the Paean and gathering round him crowned him "king of glorious victory" with acclamation. Antiochus is said to have wept as he addressed his troops. "Men," he said, "we owe our lives to these sixteen animals; so let us rather feel shame. For if the strangeness of what they saw had not thrown the enemy into confusion, what should we have been compared with them?" Then he ordered them to decorate the trophy with a carved elephant and nothing else.

It is time for me to consider whether my army is

[1] Homer, *Il.* xvi, 379. [2] Homer, *Il.* xi, 160.

τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐκ ἄξιον μάχης,[1] ἐλέφαντες δέ τινες καὶ ξένα μορμολύκεια πρὸς τοὺς ὁρῶντας καὶ θαυματοποιία ἄλλως· ἐκεῖνα γοῦν ἐπαινοῦσι πάντες. οἷς δὲ ἐγὼ ἐπεποίθειν, οὐ πάνυ ταῦτα ἐν λόγῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν θήλεια Ἱπποκένταυρος γεγραμμένη, τοῦτο μόνον ἐκπλήττονται καὶ ὥσπερ ἐστί, καινὸν καὶ τεράστιον δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα μάτην ἄρα τῷ Ζεύξιδι πεποίηται; ἀλλ' οὐ μάτην—γραφικοὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς καὶ μετὰ τέχνης ἕκαστα ὁρᾶτε. εἴη μόνον ἄξια τοῦ θεάτρου δεικνύειν.

[1] τὰ μὲν . . μάχης om. ΓΩΦ: τὰ μὲν ἄξια μάχης NXM: ἄξιον Mras.

like that of Antiochus—in general inadequate for the fight, but with some elephants, some queer hobgoblins to see, and some conjuring tricks. It is these qualities at any rate that everyone praises. The things I had confidence in are of no account at all to them. They marvel only because a female Hippocentaur has been painted, and they think it novel and portentous, as indeed it is. The rest of Zeuxis's work was wasted, I suppose. But no, not wasted—you are real artists and examine each detail with craftsmen's eyes. My only hope is that my show may be worthy of its audience.

like that of Antioch [illegible]
fight: but with some [illegible]
ins to see, and some [illegible]
qualities at any [illegible]
thing. I had confiden[illegible]
to them. The [illegible]
precentor has [illegible]
and portentous [illegible]
work was [illegible]
you are [illegible]
craftsman's [illegible]
may be worthy [illegible]

A SLIP OF THE TONGUE IN GREETING

An apology to a patron for a slip of the tongue gives an opportunity for a disquisition on the three forms of greeting: "Joy to you," "Health to you," and "Do well." For Lucian's sensitivity to niceties of diction see *The Mistaken Critic* (*Loeb*, vol. V, pp. 371 ff., with Harmon's introduction).

ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΡΟΣΑΓΟΡΕΥΣΕΙ ΠΤΑΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ

1 Χαλεπὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα δαίμονός τινος ἐπήρειαν διαφυγεῖν, πολὺ δὲ χαλεπώτερον ἀπολογίαν εὑρεῖν παραλόγου καὶ δαιμονίου πταίσματος, ἅπερ ἀμφότερα νῦν ἐμοὶ συμβέβηκεν, ὃς ἀφικόμενος παρὰ σέ, ὡς προσείποιμι τὸ ἑωθινόν, δέον τὴν συνήθη ταύτην φωνὴν ἀφεῖναι καὶ χαίρειν κελεύειν, ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ χρυσοῦς ἐπιλαθόμενος ὑγιαίνειν σε ἠξίουν, εὔφημον μὲν καὶ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ δὲ ὡς οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἕω. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ εὐθὺς ἵδιόν τε καὶ ἠρυθρίων καὶ παντοῖος ἦν ὑπὸ ἀπορίας, οἱ παρόντες δὲ οἱ μὲν παραπαίειν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, οἱ δὲ ληρεῖν ὑφ᾽ ἡλικίας, οἱ δὲ χθεσινῆς κραιπάλης ἀνάμεστον ἔτι ᾤοντό με εἶναι, εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα σὺ ἐπιεικῶς ἤνεγκας τὸ γεγονὸς οὐδ᾽ ὅσον ἄκρῳ τῷ μειδιάματι ἐπισημηνάμενος τῆς γλώττης τὴν διαμαρτίαν. ἔδοξεν οὖν μοι καλῶς ἔχειν παραμυθίαν τινὰ ἐμαυτῷ συγγράψαι, ὡς μὴ πάνυ ἀνιῴμην ἐπὶ τῷ πταίσματι μηδ᾽ ἀφόρητον ἡγοίμην, εἰ πρεσβύτης ἀνὴρ τοσοῦτον ἀπεσφάλην τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος ἐπὶ τοσούτων μαρτύρων. ἀπολογίας μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔδει οἶμαι ὑπὲρ γλώττης εἰς οὕτως εὔφημον εὐχὴν ὀλισθούσης.

2 Ἀρχόμενος μὲν οὖν τῆς γραφῆς πάνυ ἀπόρῳ ἐντεύξεσθαι ᾤμην τῷ προβλήματι, προϊόντι δὲ

A SLIP OF THE TONGUE IN GREETING

It is difficult for a mortal to avoid the caprice of some power on high, but it is much more difficult to find a defence for a silly slip sent by some such heavenly power. Both of these misfortunes have now happened to me. When I came to you to give you the morning greeting, I ought to have used the usual expression "Joy to you," but like a golden ass I blundered and said "Health to you," a pleasant enough greeting, but not suitable—it is not for the morning. As soon as I had said it I was all sixes and sevens. I began to sweat and went pink. Some of the company thought it a slip—naturally enough; others thought that I had become a fool in my old age, or that it was a hangover from yesterday's drinking. You took it very well, though—not a trace of a smile to mark my slip of the tongue. So I thought it a good idea to write something to comfort myself, so as not to be too upset over my slip, or think it intolerable if I, an old man, had fallen so far from what was proper before so many witnesses. I don't think an apology was necessary for a tongue that slipped into a wish so pleasant.

When I began to write, I thought that I was taking on an impossible task, but as I went on I found

πολλὰ προὔφάνη τὰ λεκτέα. οὐ μὴν πρότερον ἐρῶ αὐτά, ἢν μὴ περὶ τοῦ χαίρειν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ εὖ πράττειν καὶ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν προείπω τὰ εἰκότα.

Τὸ μὲν δὴ χαίρειν ἀρχαία μὲν ἡ προσαγόρευσις, οὐ μὴν ἑωθινὴ μόνον οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην ἔντευξιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἰδόντες ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον αὐτό, ὡς τό

χαῖρ', ὦ δυνάστα τῆσδε γῆς Τιρυνθίας.

καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐς λόγους ἤδη παροινίους τρεπόμενοι, ὡς τό

χαῖρ', Ἀχιλεῦ, δαιτὸς μὲν ἐΐσης οὐκ ἐπιδευεῖς,

Ὀδυσσεὺς ὁπότε τὴν ἐπεσταλμένην πρεσβείαν αὐτῷ ἐρρητόρευεν. καὶ ἤδη ἀπιόντες παρ' ἀλλήλων, ὡς τό

χαίρετ', ἐγὼ δ' ὔμμιν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός.

ἴδιος δὲ καιρὸς οὐδεὶς ἀπενενέμητο τῇ προσρήσει, οὐδὲ ὡς νῦν μόνος ὁ ἑωθινός, ὅπου γε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπαισίων καὶ ἀπευκτοτάτων ὅμως ἐχρῶντο αὐτῇ, ὡς ὁ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου Πολυνείκης ἤδη τελευτῶν τὸν βίον,

καὶ χαίρετ', ἤδη γάρ με περιβάλλει σκότος.

καὶ οὐ μόνον φιλοφροσύνης αὐτοῖς ἦν τοῦτο σύμβολον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπεχθείας καὶ τοῦ μηκέτι χρήσεσθαι ἀλλήλοις. τὸ γοῦν μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσαι τὸ μηκέτι φροντιεῖν δηλοῖ.

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[1] Homer, *Il.* ix, 225.

plenty to say. But before I tell you this, let me say a few suitable words about these greetings "Joy to you," "Do well," and "Health to you."

"Joy to you" is the ancient greeting, not however confined to the morning or to the first meeting, but they used it whenever they first caught sight of one another, as in

> "Joy to you, you lord of this Tirynthian land,"

and after dinner when they were ready to talk over their wine, as in

> "Joy to you, Achilles, there is no lack
> Of meat for all alike."[1]

when Odysseus was declaring to him his embassy's mission. They used it also when they took their leave, as in

> "Joy to you! No longer mortal know me now,
> To you a god divine."[2]

This greeting was not reserved for a special time, as now only for morning. Indeed even on the most unwelcome and inauspicious occasions they used it nevertheless, as in Euripides when Polynices at the end of his life says

> "Joy to you! For now does darkness gird me round."[3]

It was not just a sign for them of friendly feeling, but also of dislike and final parting. For example, to bid "Joy to it and a long one" meant that they washed their hands of it.

[2] A verse of Empedocles.
[3] Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1453.

3 *Πρῶτος δ' αὐτὸ Φιλιππίδης ὁ ἡμεροδρομήσας λέγεται ἀπὸ Μαραθῶνος ἀγγέλλων τὴν νίκην εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας καθημένους καὶ πεφροντικότας ὑπὲρ τοῦ τέλους τῆς μάχης, Χαίρετε, νικῶμεν, καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν συναποθανεῖν τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ καὶ τῷ χαίρειν συνεκπνεῦσαι. ἐν ἐπιστολῆς δὲ ἀρχῇ Κλέων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος δημαγωγὸς ἀπὸ Σφακτηρίας πρῶτον χαίρειν προὔθηκεν εὐαγγελιζόμενος τὴν νίκην τὴν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ τὴν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἅλωσιν. καὶ ὅμως γε* [1] *μετ' ἐκεῖνον ὁ Νικίας ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἐπιστέλλων ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν διέμεινεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀρξάμενος τῶν πραγμάτων.*

4 *Ἀλλ' ὁ θαυμαστὸς Πλάτων, ἀνὴρ ἀξιόπιστος νομοθέτης τῶν τοιούτων, τὸ μὲν χαίρειν κελεύειν καὶ πάνυ ἀποδοκιμάζει ὡς μοχθηρὸν ὂν καὶ οὐδὲν σπουδαῖον ἐμφαῖνον, τὸ δ' εὖ πράττειν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ εἰσάγει ὡς κοινὸν σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς εὖ διακειμένων σύμβολον, καὶ ἐπιστέλλων γε τῷ Διονυσίῳ αἰτιᾶται αὐτόν, ὅτι ποιῶν ἐς τὸν Ἀπόλλω χαίρειν τὸν θεὸν προσεῖπεν ὡς ἀνάξιον τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ οὐχ ὅπως θεοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀνθρώποις δεξιοῖς πρέπον.*

5 *Ὁ μέν γε θεσπέσιος Πυθαγόρας, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτὸς ἴδιον ἡμῖν καταλιπεῖν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἠξίωσεν, ὅσον Ὀκέλλῳ* [2] *τῷ Λευκανῷ καὶ Ἀρχύτᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμιληταῖς αὐτοῦ τεκμαίρεσθαι, οὔτε τὸ χαίρειν οὔτε τὸ εὖ πράττειν προὔγραφεν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν ἄρχεσθαι ἐκέλευεν. ἅπαντες γοῦν οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀλλήλοις ἐπιστέλλοντες ὁπότε σπουδαῖόν*

[1] *καὶ ὅμως γε* Seager: *καὶ ὅλως καὶ* Γ: *καὶ ὅλως καί γε* N: *καὶ ὅλως γε* A.

Philippides, the one who acted as courier, is said to have used it first in our sense when he brought the news of victory from Marathon and addressed the magistrates in session when they were anxious how the battle had ended; "Joy to you, we've won," he said, and there and then he died, breathing his last breath with that "Joy to you." Cleon the Athenian demagogue also began his letter from Sphacteria with "Joy to you," when he gave the good news of the victory there and the capture of the Spartiates.[1] However after him Nicias in his despatches from Sicily followed the old practice and began right away with the matter in hand.

The admirable Plato himself, a most sound authority on such matters, altogether rejected the use of "Joy to you" as bad and pointless. He substitutes "Do well," which implies a good state of both body and soul. In a letter to Dionysius[2] he censures him for greeting Apollo with "Joy to you" in his poem to the god; it is unworthy of the Pythian, he says, and not even for men of taste is it becoming, let alone gods.

The divine Pythagoras chose not to leave us anything of his own, but if we may judge by Ocellus the Leucanian and Archytas and his other disciples, he did not prefix "Joy to you" or "Do well," but told them to begin with "Health to you." At any rate all his school in serious letters to each other began straightway with "Health to you," as a greet-

[1] 424 B.C., during the Peloponnesian War.
[2] *Ep.* III, 315B.

[2] Ὀκέλλῳ two late MSS. and Aldinus: ὀκέλῳ Ω: ὀκέκλῳ other MSS. (ὀκέκλῳ Γ).

τι γράφοιεν ὑγιαίνειν εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ παρεκελεύοντο ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ ψυχῇ τε καὶ σώματι ἁρμοδιώτατον καὶ συνόλως ἅπαντα περιειληφὸς τἀνθρώπου ἀγαθά, καὶ τό γε τριπλοῦν αὐτοῖς τρίγωνον τὸ δι' ἀλλήλων τὸ πεντάγραμμον, ᾧ συμβόλῳ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοδόξους ἐχρῶντο, ὑγίεια πρὸς αὐτῶν ὠνομάζετο, καὶ ὅλως ἡγοῦντο τῷ μὲν ὑγιαίνειν τὸ εὖ πράττειν καὶ τὸ χαίρειν [1] εἶναι, οὔτε δὲ τῷ εὖ πράττειν οὔτε τῷ χαίρειν πάντως καὶ τὸ ὑγιαίνειν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ τὴν τετρακτύν, τὸν μέγιστον ὅρκον αὐτῶν, ἣ τὸν ἐντελῆ αὐτοῖς ἀριθμὸν ἀποτελεῖ,[2] ἤδη [3] καὶ ὑγιείας ἀρχὴν ἐκάλεσαν. ὧν καὶ Φιλόλαός ἐστι.

6 Καὶ τί σοι τοὺς παλαιοὺς λέγω, ὅπου καὶ Ἐπίκουρος ἀνὴρ πάνυ χαίρων τῷ χαίρειν καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν πρὸ ἁπάντων αἱρούμενος ἐν ταῖς σπουδαιοτέραις ἐπιστολαῖς (εἰσὶ δὲ αὗται ὀλίγαι) καὶ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς φιλτάτους μάλιστα ὑγιαίνειν εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ προστάττει; πολὺ δ' ἂν καὶ ἐν τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ κωμῳδίᾳ εὕροις τὸ ὑγιαίνειν πρῶτον εὐθὺς λεγόμενον. τὸ μὲν γὰρ

οὖλέ τε καὶ μάλα χαῖρε

σαφῶς προτεταγμένον τοῦ χαίρειν τὸ ὑγιαίνειν ἔχει. ὁ δὲ Ἄλεξις,

ὦ δέσποθ', ὑγίαιν', ὡς χρόνιος ἐλήλυθας·

ὁ δὲ Ἀχαιός,

ἥκω πεπραγὼς δεινά, σὺ δ' ὑγίαινέ μοι·

[1] τὸ εὖ . . . χαίρειν one late MS.: other MSS. om.
[2] ἀποτελεῖ Marcilius: ἀποτελεῖν MSS.

ing most suitable for both body and soul, encompassing all human goods. Indeed the Pentagram, the triple intersecting triangle which they used as a symbol of their sect, they called "Health." In short they thought that health included doing well and joy, but that the converse did not altogether hold. Some of them called the Quaternion,[1] their most solemn oath, which made for them the perfect number, the Beginning of Health. Philolaus, for example.

But why quote the ancients when there is Epicurus? He certainly enjoyed joy, and chose Pleasure as the chief good. In his more serious letters (there are not many of these) and in those to his dearest friends he generally began straightway with "Health to you." In tragedy too and in Old Comedy you will often find "Health" said straightway first. The greeting

"Good health and joy be yours"[2]

clearly puts health before joy. Alexis says

"Good health, my lord! At long last you are here,"

and Achaeus

"I come in dreadful case, but health I wish to you,"

[1] The sum of the first four integers, i.e. $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10$.

[2] Homer, *Od.* xxiv, 402.

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[3] ἤδη Marcilius: οἱ δὲ MSS.

καὶ ὁ Φιλήμων,

αἰτῶ δ' ὑγίειαν πρῶτον, εἶτ' εὐπραξίαν,
τρίτον δὲ χαίρειν, εἶτ' ὀφείλειν μηδενί.

ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸ σκόλιον γράψας, οὗ καὶ Πλάτων μέμνηται, τί καὶ οὗτός φησιν; Ὑγιαίνειν μὲν ἄριστον, τὸ δεύτερον καλὸν γενέσθαι, τρίτον δὲ πλουτεῖν, τοῦ χαίρειν δὲ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἐμνήσθη, ἵνα σοι μὴ [1] τὸ γνωριμώτατον ἐκεῖνο καὶ πᾶσι διὰ στόματος λέγω,

ὑγίεια, πρεσβίστα μακάρων, μετὰ σεῦ ναίοιμι τὸ λειπόμενον
βιοτᾶς.

ὥστε εἰ πρεσβίστη ἐστὶν ὑγίεια, καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς τὸ ὑγιαίνειν προτακτέον τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν.

7 Μυρία δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔκ τε ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ φιλοσόφων καταδεῖξαί σοι ἔχων, προτιμώντων τὸ ὑγιαίνειν, τοῦτο μὲν παραιτήσομαι, ὡς μὴ εἰς ἀπειροκαλίαν τινὰ μειρακιώδη ἐκπέσῃ μοι τὸ σύγγραμμα καὶ κινδυνεύωμεν ἄλλῳ ἥλῳ ἐκκρούειν τὸν ἧλον, ὀλίγα δέ σοι τῆς ἀρχαίας ἱστορίας ὁπόσα μέμνημαι οἰκεῖα τῷ παρόντι προσγράψαι καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπέλαβον.

8 Ὅτε Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἐν Ἰσσῷ μάχην ἀγωνιεῖσθαι ἔμελλεν, ὡς Εὐμένης ὁ Καρδιανὸς [2] ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ἐπιστολῇ λέγει, ἕωθεν εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἡφαιστίων, εἴτ' ἐπιλαθόμενος εἴτε ταραχθεὶς ὥσπερ ἐγὼ εἴτε καὶ θεοῦ τινος τοῦτο καταναγκάσαντος, ταὐτὸν ἐμοὶ ἔφη, Ὑγίαινε, βασιλεῦ, καιρὸς ἤδη παρατάττεσθαι. ταραχθέντων

[1] *μὴ* add. Fritzsche.

and Philemon

> " First I beg good health, and second doing well,
> Thirdly to have joy, and last to owe no debts."

What does the writer of that drinking-song which Plato mentions say[1]? " Good health is best, then good looks, third wealth," and he never mentions joy at all. I need hardly mention that most familiar piece of all which everybody quotes,

> " I'd live with thee, O Health, chief of the gods
> Through all the mortal life that's left to me."[2]

Then if health is the chief of the gods, her work—the enjoyment of good health—is to be preferred to other blessings.

I could show you thousands of other passages in the poets and historians and philosophers which put health first, but I shall beg to be excused, or my writing will be guilty of the bad taste of an adolescent, and only knock one nail out with another. But a few things from ancient history I remember are to the point, and I may as well add them for you.

Just before the Battle of Issus, as Eumenes of Cardia says in his letter to Antipater, Hephaestion came early into Alexander's tent. He blundered or was confused (as I was) or was driven to it by some god when he gave my greeting: " Health to you, king," he said, " it is already time to set the battle-

[1] Plato, *Gorgias*, 7. The scolium is quoted in full by Athenaeus, *Deipn.*, xv, 40.
[2] Attributed to Ariphron of Sicyon, Ath., *Deipn.*, xv, 63.

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[2] Καρδιανὸς Solanus : Σαρδιανὸς MSS.

δὲ τῶν παρόντων πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον τῆς προσαγορεύσεως καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑπ' αἰδοῦς ἐκθανόντος, Ἀλέξανδρος, Δέχομαι, εἶπε, τὴν κληδόνα. τὸ γὰρ σώους ἐπανήξειν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἤδη μοι ὑπέσχηται.

9 Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ σωτὴρ ὅτε τοῖς Γαλάταις συνάπτειν ἔμελλεν, ἔδοξεν ὄναρ ἐπιστάντα οἱ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κελεύειν σύνθημα πρὸ τῆς μάχης παραδοῦναι τῇ στρατιᾷ τὸ ὑγιαίνειν, καὶ ὑπὸ τούτῳ τῷ [1] συνθήματι τὴν θαυμαστὴν ἐκείνην νίκην ἐνίκησεν.

10 Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου Σελεύκῳ ἐπιστέλλων σαφῶς ἀνέστρεψε τὴν τάξιν ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὑγιαίνειν αὐτὸν προσειπών, ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐρρῶσθαι ὑπογράψας τὸ χαίρειν, ὡς Διονυσόδωρος ὁ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ συναγαγών φησιν.

11 Ἄξιον δὲ καὶ Πύρρου τοῦ Ἠπειρώτου μνησθῆναι, ἀνδρὸς μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον τὰ δεύτερα ἐν στρατηγίαις ἐνεγκαμένου καὶ μυρίας τροπὰς τῆς τύχης ἐνεγκόντος. οὗτος τοίνυν ἀεὶ θεοῖς εὐχόμενος καὶ θύων καὶ ἀνατιθεὶς οὐδεπώποτε ἢ νίκην ἢ βασιλείας ἀξίωμα μεῖζον ἢ εὔκλειαν ἢ πλούτου ὑπερβολὴν ᾔτησε παρ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἓν τοῦτο ηὔχετο, ὑγιαίνειν, ὡς ἔστ' ἂν τοῦτ' ἔχῃ, ῥᾳδίως αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων προσγενησομένων. καὶ ἄριστα οἶμαι ἐφρόνει, λογιζόμενος ὅτι οὐδὲν ὄφελος τῶν ἁπάντων ἀγαθῶν, ἔστ' ἂν τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν μόνον ἀπῇ.

12 Ναί, φησίν τις, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἑκάστου καιρὸς ἴδιος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποδέδεικται,[2] σὺ δὲ τοῦτον ἐναλλάξας, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐσφάλης,[3] ὅμως τῷ δικαίῳ λόγῳ οὐκ ἂν ἔξω εἴης τοῦ ἡμαρτηκέναι, ὥσπερ

line." The others present were upset by the strange address, and Hephaestion almost died for shame. But Alexander said, "I accept the omen. It has now promised us a safe return from the battle."

When Antiochus Soter was about to engage the Galatians, he dreamed he saw Alexander standing by him, who told him to give the army the password "Health" before the battle, and under that word he won his amazing victory.

Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, when writing to Seleucus clearly reversed the usual order by putting "Health to you" at the beginning of his letter, and at the end "Joy to you" instead of wishing him strength. Dionysodorus who collected his letters tells us this.

Then Pyrrhus of Epirus also is worthy of mention. As a general he was second only to Alexander and endured a myriad changes of fortune. In all his prayers to the gods and sacrifices and offerings he never asked them for victory or increased kingly dignity or glory or excessive wealth; his prayer was for this thing alone—good health; he was sure that if he had this he would easily get all the rest. I think he was right when he considered that all the blessings in the world are worth nothing when health is the one thing he hasn't got.

Yes, someone will say, we have assigned the proper time for each phrase, but you have switched it; and even if you have done nothing else wrong, you have still in all justice made a slip; you've put a

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[1] τῷ add. Cobet.

[2] ἀποδέδεικται τάχα ἂν εἴπῃ τις. σὺ δὲ . . . N.

[3] ἐσφάλης Bekker : ἔφησθα MSS.

ἂν εἴ τις περὶ τῇ κνήμῃ τὸ κράνος ἢ περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τὰς κνημῖδας ἐπιδήσαιτο. Ἀλλ', ὦ βέλτιστε, φαίην ἂν κἀγὼ πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰκότως ἂν ταῦτα ἔλεγες, εἴ τις ὅλως καιρὸς ἦν ὑγιείας μὴ δεόμενος, νῦν δὲ καὶ ἕωθεν καὶ μεσούσης ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτωρ ἀεὶ τὸ ὑγιαῖνον ἀναγκαῖον, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ πολλὰ πράττουσιν ὑμῖν, ὅσῳ καὶ πρὸς τὰ πολλὰ δεῖσθε τοῦ σώματος. ἔτι δὲ ὁ μὲν χαῖρε εἰπὼν μόνον εὐφήμῳ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐχρήσατο, καὶ ἔστιν εὐχὴ το πρᾶγμα, ὁ δὲ ὑγιαίνειν παρακελευόμενος καὶ χρήσιμόν τι δρᾷ καὶ ὑπομιμνήσκει τῶν πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαίνειν συντελούντων, καὶ οὐ συνεύχεται μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παραγγέλλει.

13 τί δ'; οὐχὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐντολῶν βιβλίῳ, ὃ ἀεὶ παρὰ βασιλέως λαμβάνετε, τοῦτο πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐστι παράγγελμα, τῆς ὑγιείας τῆς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν εἴη ὄφελος ὑμῶν πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα μὴ οὕτω διακειμένων. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοί, εἴ τι κἀγὼ τῆς Ῥωμαίων φωνῆς ἐπαΐω, τοὺς προσαγορεύοντας ἀντιδεξιούμενοι τῷ τῆς ὑγιείας ὀνόματι πολλάκις ἀμείβεσθε.

14 Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα εἶπον οὐχ ὡς ἐκ προνοίας ἀφελὼν μὲν τὸ χαίρειν, ἐπιτηδεύσας δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ εἰπεῖν τὸ ὑγιαίνειν, ἀλλ' ὡς τοῦτο μὲν ἄκων παθών—ἦ γελοῖος γ' ἂν ἦν ξενίζων καὶ τοὺς
15 καιροὺς τῶν προσαγορεύσεων ἐναλλάττων. χάριν δὲ ὁμολογῶ τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτι μοι τὸ σφάλμα εἰς ἄλλο μακρῷ αἰσιώτερον περιετράπη καὶ εἰς τὸ ἄμεινον παρώλισθον, καὶ τάχα τῆς Ὑγιείας ἢ Ἀσκληπιοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπνοίᾳ τοῦτ' ἐπράχθη δι' ἐμοῦ σοι τὸ ὑγιαίνειν ὑπισχνουμένου· ἐπεὶ ἔγωγε

helmet on your shins and greaves on your head. Oh, yes, my good sir, I would answer, that would be reasonable if there were any time at all when health wasn't needed; as it is you always need health—morning, noon, and night—, especially you magistrates and busy men who depend so much on your bodily vigour. "Joy to you" is only an auspicious beginning, a prayer in fact. "Health to you" is positive and useful; it reminds you of what makes for good health; it is a warning as well as a prayer. Now in the book of instructions you always get from the emperor, isn't the first injunction to you to take care of your health? And rightly so. You would not be of much use otherwise. Indeed you yourselves, if I know any Latin, also often return the word "Health"[1] when you shake hands.

In saying all this I did not want deliberately to discard "Joy to you" and put "Health" in its place; this was an accident—it would be ridiculous for me to surprise you all by changing the usual times of the greetings. I am grateful to heaven that my slip was a switch into something much more auspicious and slid into something better. Perhaps the goddess Health or Asclepius himself inspired me on purpose to promise you health through me. I could certainly never have done it without a god's inter-

[1] In Latin "Salve."

πῶς ἂν αὐτὸ ἔπαθον ἄνευ θεοῦ μηδέπω πρότερον ἐν τῷ μακρῷ βίῳ ταραχθεὶς ὅμοιον;

16 Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην τινὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ γεγονότος ἀπολογίαν εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν ξένον, εἰ πάνυ ἐσπουδακὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ὑπὸ σοῦ γνωρίζεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἄγαν ἐπιθυμίας εἰς τοὐναντίον διαταραχθεὶς ἐνέπεσον. τάχα δ' ἄν τινα ἐκπλήξειε τῶν κατ' ὀρθὸν λογισμῶν[1] καὶ στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος, ὧν οἱ μὲν προωθοῦντες, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς προσαγο-
17 ρεύσεως μὴ μένοντες. σὺ δ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι κἂν οἱ ἄλλοι εἰς ἄνοιαν ἢ ἀπαιδευσίαν ἢ παραφροσύνην ἀναφέρωσιν τὸ πρᾶγμα, αἰδοῦς αὐτὸ σύμβολον καὶ ἀφελείας ἐποιήσω καὶ ψυχῆς μηδὲν ἀγοραῖον καὶ ἔντεχνον ἐχούσης· ὡς τό γε πάνυ θαρραλέον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις οὐ πόρρω θρασύτητος καὶ ἀναισχυντίας ἐστίν. καὶ ἔμοιγε εἴη μηδὲν μὲν τοιοῦτο σφάλλεσθαι, εἰ δὲ συμβαίη, πρὸς εὐφημίαν αὐτὸ τρέπεσθαι.

18 Ἐπὶ γοῦν τοῦ πρώτου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοιόνδε τι λέγεται γενέσθαι· ὁ μὲν ἔτυχε δίκην τινὰ δικάσας ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀπολύσας ἐγκλήματος τοῦ μεγίστου ἀδίκως συκοφαντούμενον ἄνθρωπον, ὁ δὲ χάριν ὁμολογῶν μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ, Χάριν οἶδά σοι, ἔφη, ὦ αὐτοκράτορ, ὅτι κακῶς καὶ ἀδίκως ἐδίκασας· καὶ τῶν περὶ Σεβαστὸν ἀγανακτησάντων καὶ διασπάσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐθελόντων, Παύσασθε χαλεπαίνοντες, ἐκεῖνος ἔφη· οὐ γὰρ τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν γνώμην ἐξετάζειν ἄξιον. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὕτως, σὺ δ' εἴτε τὴν γνώμην

[1] τῶν . . . λογισμῶν Sommerbrodt: τῶν . . . λογισμὸν Γ: τὴν . . . λογισμὸν N: τῆς λογισμῶν (? sic) E.

vention, when I was never confused like this before in a long life.

But, if I must make a human apology for what has happened, there is nothing strange, if a fervent desire for your good opinion in all that is best was too strong and in my utter confusion I stumbled into the opposite effect. A man might also be startled away from proper deliberation by the crowd of soldiers pushing their way to the front or not waiting their turn in presenting their petitions. But I know that you at any rate have taken the affair as a sign of modesty and simplicity and a mind undebased and unsophisticated, even if the others referred it to ignorance or bad training or idiocy. Excessive boldness in such matters is not far off audacity and shamelessness. May I never make such a slip, or, if I do, may I happen on some lucky phrase!

Indeed they say that something like this happened to the first Augustus. It happened that he had decided a certain case correctly and acquitted a defendant who had been unjustly prosecuted on a most serious charge. The man acknowledged his gratitude in a loud voice: "Thank you, Emperor, for your bad and unjust judgment!" Augustus's courtiers were furious and would have torn him to pieces, but the emperor said, "Calm your anger. It is his meaning, not his words, that you must consider." That was his answer, but if you look at my

σκέψαιο, πάνυ εὔνουν εὑρήσεις, εἴτε τὴν γλῶτταν, εὔφημος καὶ αὐτή.

19 Ἔοικα δ' ἐνταῦθα ἤδη γενόμενος εἰκότως ἄλλο τι φοβήσεσθαι, μή τισι δόξω ἐξεπίτηδες ἡμαρτηκέναι, ὡς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ταύτην συγγράψαιμι. καὶ εἴη γε, ὦ φίλτατε Ἀσκληπιέ, τοιοῦτον φανῆναι τὸν λόγον, ὡς μὴ ἀπολογίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπιδείξεως ἀφορμὴν εἶναι δοκεῖν.

meaning, the intention, you'll see, was good; if at my words, they too were auspicious.

Having now reached this point, I think I may reasonably be afraid of something else: some may think the slip deliberate, a pretext for writing this defence. May my composition, dearest Asclepius, be such that all may see it as a starting point of a display, not as a defence.

meaning, the inten[illegible] [illegible]
my words they [illegible]
Having now [illegible]
reasonably be [illegible]
think the slip [illegible]
defence. May [illegible]
be such that all [illegible]
display, not [illegible]

APOLOGY FOR THE "SALARIED POSTS IN GREAT HOUSES"

Lucian, now in an administrative position in the Civil Service in Egypt, defends himself against the charge of hypocrisy. His earlier essay (*Loeb*, vol. III, pp. 411 ff.) had attacked the life of educated men who took paid employment in the houses of the rich.

ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ

1 Πάλαι σκοπῶ πρὸς ἐμαυτόν, ὦ καλὲ Σαβῖνε, ἅτινά σοι εἰκὸς ἐπελθεῖν εἰπεῖν ἀναγνόντι ἡμῶν τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνόντων βιβλίον· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀγελαστὶ διεξῄεις αὐτὸ καὶ πάνυ μοι πρόδηλον. ἃ δὲ μεταξὺ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐλέγετο, ταῦτα νῦν ἐφαρμόττειν ζητῶ τοῖς ἀνεγνωσμένοις. εἰ τοίνυν μὴ κακὸς ἐγὼ μαντικήν, δοκῶ μοι ἀκούειν σου λέγοντος· Εἶτά τις αὐτὸς ταῦτα γεγραφὼς καὶ κατηγορίαν οὕτω δεινὴν κατὰ τοῦ τοιούτου βίου διεξελθών, ἔπειτα πάντων ἐκλαθόμενος, ὀστράκου, φησί, μεταπεσόντος ἑκὼν ἑαυτὸν φέρων ἐς δουλείαν οὕτω περιφανῆ καὶ περίβλεπτον ἐνσέσεικεν; πόσοι Μίδαι καὶ Κροῖσοι καὶ Πακτωλοὶ ὅλοι μετέπεισαν αὐτὸν ἀφεῖναι μὲν τὴν ἐκ παίδων φίλην καὶ σύντροφον ἐλευθερίαν, πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ ἤδη τῷ Αἰακῷ γενόμενον καὶ μονονουχὶ τὸν ἕτερον πόδα ἐν τῷ πορθμείῳ ἔχοντα παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν ἕλκεσθαι καὶ σύρεσθαι [1] καθάπερ ὑπὸ κλοιῷ τινι χρυσῷ τὸν αὐχένα δεθέντα; οἷά ἐστι τῶν τρυφώντων πλουσίων τὰ σφιγγία καὶ τὰ κουράλλια; πολλὴ γοῦν ἡ διαφωνία τοῦ νῦν βίου πρὸς τὸ σύγγραμμα καὶ τὸ ἄνω τοὺς ποταμοὺς

[1] φέρεσθαι N.

APOLOGY FOR THE "SALARIED POSTS IN GREAT HOUSES"

I HAVE long been wondering, my dear Sabinus, what it probably occurred to you to say now that you have read my essay on "Salaried Posts in Great Houses." It is quite certain that you had a good laugh when you read it; but I am trying now to fit the detailed and general comments you made to the text. If I am any good at divination, I think I can hear you saying: "To think that anyone could write that and work up such a devastating indictment against that sort of life, then, when the die falls the other way up, completely forget it and himself of his own free will rush headlong into a slavery so manifest and conspicuous! How many Midases and Croesuses and whole Pactoluses have persuaded him to throw away his liberty, the object of his care and companion of his nurture since childhood? Already within sight of Aeacus himself, with one foot almost in the ferry-boat he lets himself be dragged and pulled along as though by a golden collar fastened round his throat![1] What bracelets and necklaces the idle rich must have! There is much inconsistency here between his present life and his essay—'rivers

[1] See On Sal. Posts., Loeb, vol. iii, 7.

χωρεῖν καὶ ἀνεστράφθαι τὰ πάντα καὶ παλινῳδεῖν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον· τοῦτ᾿ ἂν εἴη οὐχ ὑπὲρ Ἑλένης μὰ Δί᾿ οὐδ᾿ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπ᾿ Ἰλίῳ γενομένων, ἀλλ᾿ ἔργῳ ἀνατρεπομένων τῶν λόγων καλῶς πρότερον εἰρῆσθαι δοκούντων.

2 Ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτόν ὡς τὸ εἰκός λέλεκταί σοι. ἐπάξεις δὲ ἴσως καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐμὲ ξυμβουλήν τινα τοιαύτην οὐκ ἄκαιρον, ἀλλὰ φιλικὴν καὶ οἵῳ σοι χρηστῷ καὶ φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ πρέπουσαν. ἢν μὲν οὖν κατ᾿ ἀξίαν ὑποδὺς τὸ σὸν πρόσωπον ὑποκρίνωμαι, εὖ ἂν ἡμῖν ἔχοι καὶ τῷ Λογίῳ θύσομεν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ σὺ προσθήσεις τὰ ἐνδέοντα. ὥρα τοίνυν μετασκευάσαντας ἡμᾶς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐμὲ μὲν σιωπᾶν καὶ ἀνέχεσθαι τεμνόμενον καὶ καιόμενον, εἰ δέοι, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ, σὲ δ᾿ ἐπιπάττειν τῶν φαρμάκων καὶ τὴν σμίλην ἅμα πρόχειρον ἔχοντα καὶ τὸ καυτήριον διάπυρον. καὶ δὴ παραλαβὼν τὴν ῥήτραν σὺ ταῦτα πρός με ὁ Σαβῖνος ἤδη λέγεις.

3 Πάλαι μέν, ὦ φιλότης, ὡς εἰκός, εὐδοκίμηταί σοι τουτὶ τὸ σύγγραμμα καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πλήθει δειχθέν, ὡς οἱ τότε ἀκροασάμενοι διηγοῦντο, καὶ ἰδίᾳ παρὰ τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ὁπόσοι ὁμιλεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν ἠξίωσαν. ἥ τε γὰρ τῶν λόγων παρασκευὴ οὐ μεμπτὴ καὶ ἡ ἱστορία πολλὴ καὶ ἐμπειρία τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ὅτι ἕκαστα σαφῶς ἐλέγετο, καί, τὸ μέγιστον, ὅτι χρήσιμα πᾶσιν ἦν καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις, ὡς μὴ ὑπ᾿ ἀγνοίας σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς δουλείαν ὑπάγοιεν. ἐπεὶ δέ σοι μετέδοξε βελτίω ταῦτα εἶναι [1] τὴν μὲν

[1] So Fritzsche: εἶναι καὶ MSS.

flowing uphill' and 'the world upside down' and 'recantation for the worse,' not for a Helen indeed, or what happened at Troy;[1] no, here in very fact are your words turned upside down, although they seemed well enough before."

That's what you said to yourself, I've no doubt. Perhaps you will offer me some such advice, not untimely, but friendly, and becoming to an honest philosopher like yourself. If I put your mask on and answer properly, all will be well for us, and we shall sacrifice to the God of Reason. If not, well, you will add what is lacking. Well then it is time for us to change the scene; I must keep quiet and endure your cutting and cautery if need be for survival's sake; you must apply the ointment and at the same time have the knife ready and the cauterising iron red-hot. Now you, Sabinus, take the word and thus you now address me:

"My dear friend, your essay, as is right, has long been admired, both before a great crowd at its first appearance, as those who then heard it told me, and privately among educated people who have not hesitated to use and handle it. The style could not be censured, its content was ample and showed a knowledge of the world; it was clear in detail and, most important of all, it was useful for everybody and particularly for the educated, to save them falling into servitude through ignorance. Now all is changed; this course seems better to you, to bid

[1] The poet Stesichorus recanted his attack on Helen of Troy.

ἐλευθερίαν μακρὰ χαίρειν ἐᾶν, ζηλῶσαι δὲ τὸ ἀγεννέστατον ἐκεῖνο ἰαμβεῖον

ὅπου τὸ κέρδος, παρὰ φύσιν δουλευτέον,

ὅρα ὅπως μηδεὶς ἔτι ἀκούσεταί σου ἀναγινώσκοντος αὐτό, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἄλλῳ παράσχῃς τῶν τὸν παρόντα σου βίον ὁρώντων ἐπελθεῖν τὰ γεγραμμένα, εὔχου δὲ Ἑρμῇ τῷ χθονίῳ καὶ τῶν ἀκηκοότων πρότερον πολλὴν λήθην κατασκεδάσαι, ἢ δόξεις τὸν τοῦ Κορινθίου μῦθόν[1] τι πεπονθέναι, κατὰ σαυτοῦ ὁ Βελλεροφόντης γεγραφὼς τὸ βιβλίον. μὰ γὰρ τὸν Δί' οὐχ ὁρῶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἥτις ἂν εὐπρόσωπός σοι γένοιτο πρὸς τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας, καὶ μάλιστα, ἢν σὺν γέλωτι αὐτὸ ποιῶσιν ἐπαινοῦντες μὲν τὰ γεγραμμένα καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερίαν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν συγγραφέα δουλεύοντα ὁρῶντες καὶ ἑκόντα ὑποτιθέντα τὸν
4 αὐχένα τῷ ζυγῷ. οὐκ ἀπεικότα γ' οὖν λέγοιεν ἄν, εἰ λέγοιεν ἤτοι ἄλλου του γενναίου ἀνδρὸς εἶναι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ σὲ τὸν κολοιὸν ἀλλοτρίοις πτεροῖς ἀγάλλεσθαι· ἢ εἴπερ σόν ἐστιν, ὅμοιά σε τῷ Σαλαίθῳ ποιεῖν, ὃς πικρότατον κατὰ μοιχῶν θεὶς τοῖς Κροτωνιάταις νόμον καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἐπ' αὐτῷ μετὰ μικρὸν αὐτὸς ἑάλω μοιχεύων τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα. περὶ πόδα τοίνυν καὶ σὲ τὸν Σάλαιθον ἐκεῖνον εἶναι φαίη τις ἄν· μᾶλλον δὲ πολὺ μετριώτερος ἐκεῖνος, ἔρωτι μὲν ἁλούς, ὡς ἔφασκεν ἀπολογούμενος, ἑκὼν δὲ μάλα εὐψύχως ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἁλλόμενος, καίτοι ἐλεούντων αὐτὸν ἤδη Κροτωνιατῶν καὶ ἐνδιδόντων φυγεῖν, εἰ βούλοιτο. τὸ δὲ σὸν οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν ἀτοπώτερον, ἀκριβοῦντος

freedom good-bye for ever, and to follow that sordid verse

'Where gain is, be a slave beyond your nature.'

Take care no one hears you reading it again; keep written copies out of the way of anyone who sees your present life, and pray Hermes down below to sprinkle plenty of Lethe on those who have already heard it. Otherwise you will be like the man in the Corinthian story, a Bellerophon who wrote the book against yourself.[1] Indeed I don't see what answer you can make to give you a good face before your accusers, especially if they are laughing at you and praise the essay and its freedom while they see the writer himself enslaved and willingly putting his neck under the yoke. It would be reasonable enough, at least, if they said that someone else was the noble author, and you were a jackdaw strutting in borrowed plumes; or, if it is yours, that you were another Salaethus who made a most severe law against adultery at Croton and was admired for it, but shortly afterwards was himself caught seducing his brother's wife. It would be said that you were exactly that Salaethus—no, he was much more restrained than you; love caught him, as he said in his defence, and he jumped readily and bravely into the fire, although the people of Croton now pitied him and granted him exile if he preferred. But your case is much more shocking; you gave a precise description

[1] Bellerophon carried a letter requesting his execution. Hom., *Il.* vi, 155 sqq.

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[1] So Γ: *τῷ . . . μύθου ταὐτόν τι* N.

μὲν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τὴν τοῦ τοιούτου βίου δουλοπρέπειαν καὶ κατηγοροῦντος εἴ τις εἰς πλουσίου τινὸς ἐμπεσὼν καὶ καθείρξας ἑαυτὸν ἀνέχοιτο μυρία τὰ δυσχερῆ πάσχων καὶ ποιῶν, ἐν γήρᾳ δὲ ὑστάτῳ καὶ σχεδὸν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐδὸν οὕτως ἀγεννῆ λατρείαν ἐπανῃρημένου καὶ μονονουχὶ καὶ ἐμπομπεύοντος αὐτῇ. ὅσῳ γοῦν πᾶσιν [1] ἐπισημότερος εἶναι δοκεῖς, τοσούτῳ καταγελαστότερος ἂν δόξειας εἶναι ἀντιφωνοῦντος τοῦ νῦν βίου τῷ βιβλίῳ.

5 Καίτοι τί δεῖ καινὴν ἐπὶ σὲ κατηγορίαν ζητεῖν μετὰ τὴν θαυμαστὴν τραγῳδίαν λέγουσαν

μισῶ σοφιστήν, ὅστις οὐχ αὑτῷ σοφός;

οὐκ ἀπορήσουσι δὲ οἱ κατηγοροῦντες καὶ ἄλλων παραδειγμάτων ἐπί σε, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τοῖς τραγικοῖς ὑποκριταῖς εἰκάσουσιν, οἳ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς σκηνῆς Ἀγαμέμνων ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἢ Κρέων ἢ αὐτὸς Ἡρακλῆς εἰσιν, ἔξω δὲ Πῶλος ἢ Ἀριστόδημος ἀποθέμενοι τὰ προσωπεῖα γίγνονται ὑπόμισθοι τραγῳδοῦντες, ἐκπίπτοντες καὶ συριττόμενοι, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ μαστιγούμενοί τινες αὐτῶν, ὡς ἂν τῷ θεάτρῳ δοκῇ. ἄλλοι δὲ τὸ τοῦ πιθήκου πεπονθέναι σε φήσουσιν ὃν Κλεοπάτρᾳ τῇ πάνυ φασὶ γενέσθαι· ἐκεῖνον γὰρ διδαχθέντα τέως μὲν ὀρχεῖσθαι πάνυ κοσμίως καὶ ἐμμελῶς καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ θαυμάζεσθαι μένοντα ἐν τῷ σχήματι καὶ τὸ πρέπον φυλάττοντα καὶ τοῖς ᾄδουσι καὶ αὐλοῦσι συγκινούμενον ὑμέναιον, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδεν ἰσχάδα οἶμαι ἢ ἀμύγδαλον πόρρω κειμένην, μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσαντα τοῖς αὐλοῖς καὶ ῥυθμοῖς καὶ ὀρχήμασι συναρπάσαντα κατατρώ-

in your essay of the slavishness of a life of that sort and added your condemnation of the thousand unpleasant things a man suffered and did once he fell into a rich man's power and put himself in chains, yet in extreme old age you chose such an ignoble service when you were almost over the threshold into death, and furthermore you all but plumed yourself on entering that service. At any rate the more distinguished a person everyone thinks you, the more ridiculous you will seem if your present life contradicts your essay.

"However, why need I look for a new charge against you when that splendid tragedy says:

'I hate a wiseacre who's not wise for himself.'

Your accusers will find plenty more examples to quote against you. Some will compare you to tragic actors, on stage each an Agamemnon, Creon, or Heracles himself, but with their masks off a Polus or Aristodemus, playing a part for money, hissed and whistled off the stage, and sometimes some of them are flogged, if the audience wishes. Others will say you are like the monkey which they say the famous Cleopatra owned; it was trained to dance most elegantly and in time, and was much admired as it kept up a part, behaving in a seemly fashion as it accompanied the singers and flautists of the bridal procession. But when he saw a fig, I suppose, or an almond some way off on the ground, then good-bye to flutes and rhythms and

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[1] πᾶσιν M: φᾶσιν or φασιν other MSS.

*γειν, ἀπορρίψαντα, μᾶλλον δὲ συντρίψαντα τὸ
πρόσωπον. καὶ σὺ τοίνυν, φαῖεν ἄν, οὐχ ὑποκριτής,
ἀλλὰ ποιητὴς τῶν καλλίστων καὶ νομοθέτης
γενόμενος ὑπὸ ἰσχάδος ταυτησὶ παραφανείσης
6 ἠλέγχθης πίθηκος ὢν καὶ ἀπ' ἄκρου χείλους
φιλοσοφῶν καὶ ἕτερα μὲν κεύθων ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλα
δὲ λέγων· ὡς εἰκότως ἄν τινα ἐπὶ σοῦ εἰπεῖν ὅτι
ἃ λέγεις καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἀξιοῖς, χείλεα
μέν σου ἐδίηνεν, ὑπερῴην δὲ αὐχμῶσαν καταλέ-
λοιπεν. τοιγαροῦν παρὰ πόδας εὐθὺς ἔτισας δίκην,
προπετῶς μὲν θρασυνάμενος πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρώπων
χρείας, μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ μονονουχὶ ὑπὸ κήρυξιν
ἐξομοσάμενος τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. καὶ ἐῴκει ἡ Ἀδράσ-
τεια τότε κατόπιν ἐφεστῶσά σοι εὐδοκιμοῦντι ἐφ'
οἷς κατηγόρεις τῶν ἄλλων, καταγελᾶν ὡς ἂν θεὸς
εἰδυῖα τὴν μέλλουσάν σοι ἐς τὰ ὅμοια μεταβολὴν
καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εἰς τὸν κόλπον πτύσας πρότερον
ἠξίους κατηγορεῖν τῶν διὰ ποικίλας τινὰς τύχας
τοιαῦτα πράττειν ὑπομενόντων. εἰ γοῦν ὑποθοῖτό
τις τῷ λόγῳ τὸν Αἰσχίνην μετὰ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Τι-
μάρχου κατηγορίαν αὐτὸν ἁλῶναι καὶ φωραθῆναι
7 τὰ ὅμοια πάσχοντα, πόσον ἂν οἴει παρὰ τῶν
ὁρώντων γενέσθαι τὸν γέλωτα, εἰ Τίμαρχον μὲν
ηὔθυνεν ἐπὶ τοῖς καθ' ὥραν ἡμαρτημένοις, αὐτὸς
δὲ γέρων ἤδη τοιαῦτα εἰς ἑαυτὸν παρενόμει; τὸ
δ' ὅλον ἐκείνῳ τῷ φαρμακοπώλῃ ἔοικας ὃς
ἀποκηρύττων βηχὸς φάρμακον καὶ αὐτίκα κατα-
παύσειν τοὺς πάσχοντας ὑπισχνούμενος αὐτὸς με-
ταξὺ σπώμενος ὑπὸ βηχὸς ἐφαίνετο.*

[1] Hom., *Il.* ix, 313. [2] Homer, *Il.* xxiii, 495.
[3] Nemesis.

dances! he grabbed and ate it up after pulling off his mask and even tearing it up. You then, they would say, were not a mere actor, but a poet of the noblest sentiments and a lawgiver; but when this fig appeared you were shown up a monkey, with philosophy on your lips, 'hiding one thing in your heart, while saying another.'[1] So it may be fairly said against you that what you say and the matters for which you ask to be praised 'wet your lips, but leave the palate dry.'[2] So retribution has followed close. You rushed headlong to attack human needs, then a little later forswore your freedom in what was almost a public proclamation. If Adrasteia[3] stood behind you when your accusations were winning your reputation, she must have laughed, knowing as a god would what a turncoat you were going to be; you couldn't have spat in your bosom,[4] she would think, before thinking fit to accuse those who were driven to do this sort of thing by fortune's fickleness. Suppose for argument's sake that after Aeschines had made his accusation against Timarchus he had been caught doing just the same, in the very act, don't you think those who saw it would have roared with laughter at this fellow who censured Timarchus for the sins of youth, and committed the same crimes himself in his old age?[5] In short you seem just like that drug-seller who was advertising cough medicine and promising immediate relief to sufferers, while he himself was racked by a cough as he talked for all to see."

[4] To avert nemesis.

[5] Aeschines was impeached by Timarchus, and brought a countercharge of debauchery against him. This made it illegal for Timarchus to undertake any prosecution.

8 Ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἕτερα εἴποι τις ἂν οἷος σὺ κατηγορῶν ἐν οὕτως ἀμφιλαφεῖ τῇ ὑποθέσει καὶ μυρίας τὰς ἀφορμὰς παρεχομένῃ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἤδη σκοπῶ ἥντινα καὶ τράπωμαι πρὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν. ἆρά μοι κράτιστον, ἐθελοκακήσαντα καὶ τὰ νῶτα ἐπιστρέψαντα καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ ἀρνούμενον ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐκείνην ἀπολογίαν καταφυγεῖν,—λέγω δὲ τὴν Τύχην καὶ Μοῖραν καὶ Εἱμαρμένην—καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι συγγνώμην ἔχειν μοι τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας εἰδότας ὡς οὐδενὸς ἡμεῖς κύριοι, ἀλλ' ὑπό τινος κρείττονος, μᾶλλον δὲ μιᾶς τῶν προειρημένων ἀγόμεθα οὐχ ἑκόντες, ἀλλ' ἀναίτιοι παντάπασιν ὄντες ὧν ἂν λέγωμεν ἢ ποιωμεν;[1] ἢ τοῦτο μὲν κομιδῇ ἰδιωτικόν, καὶ οὐδ' ἂν σύ με, ὦ φιλότης, ἀνάσχοιο τοιαύτην ἀπολογίαν προϊσχόμενον καὶ συνήγορον τὸν Ὅμηρον παραλαμβάνοντα καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου ἔπη ῥαψῳδοῦντα,

> Μοῖραν δ' οὔτινά φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν[2]

καὶ τὸ

> γεινομένῳ ἐπένησε λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ.

9 Εἰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀφεὶς τὸν λόγον ὡς οὐ πάνυ ἀξιόπιστον ἐκεῖνο λέγοιμι, μήτε ὑπὸ χρημάτων μήτε ὑπ' ἄλλης τινὸς ἐλπίδος τοιαύτης δελεασθεὶς ὑποστῆναι τὴν παροῦσαν συνουσίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν σύνεσιν καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ μεγαλόνοιαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θαυμάσας ἐθελῆσαι κοινωνῆσαι πράξεων τῷ τοιούτῳ, δέδοικα μὴ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιφερομένῃ κατηγορίᾳ κολακείας αἰτίαν[3] προσλαβὼν κᾆτα

This and a lot more of the sort could be said by a prosecutor like you in a case with such scope and countless opportunities for criticism. But now I am wondering to what defence I should turn. Is it best to play the coward, turn my back, and admit my wrong-doing, taking refuge in the universal defence, Fortune, Fate, Destiny? Shall I ask pardon from my critics, who know that we have no control and are driven by a mightier power, especially one of those just mentioned? Shall I say we do not wish it, but have no responsibility at all for what we say or do? Surely this is a very vulgar excuse, and, my good friend, you would not let me use any such defence or call in Homer as an advocate and chant his:

"No man, say I, ever escaped Fate."[1]

and again,

"Spun the thread at his birth, the day his mother bore him."[2]

But if I abandoned this argument as quite unconvincing and said this that I was not hooked by money or any such expectation when I formed the present association, but that I admired my patron's intelligence and courage and elevation of thought and wished to share the fortunes of such a man, I fear that besides the accusation being brought against me I

[1] Homer, *Il.* vi, 488. [2] Homer, *Il.* xx, 128.

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[1] So Γ[2]: om. *ὧν* Γ[1]: *ἃ ἂν λ. ἢ π.* N.
[2] So F and Homer: *ἀνδρῶν εἶναι* other MSS.
[3] So F: *πρὸς . . . αἰτίαν* om. Γ: *δέδοικα μὴ καὶ ταῦτα ἐλέγχωμαι προσλαβὼν* N.

εὑρίσκωμαι ἥλῳ, φασίν, ἐκκρούων τὸν ἧλον, καὶ μείζονί γε τὸν σμικρότερον, ὅσῳ κολακεία τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων κακῶν τὸ δουλοπρεπέστατον εἶναι —καὶ ταύτῃ χείριστον—νενόμισται.

10 *Τί οὖν ἄλλο, εἰ μήτε ταῦτα μήτε ἐκεῖνα λέγειν δοκεῖ, ὑπόλοιπόν ἐστιν ἢ ὁμολογεῖν μηδὲ ἓν ὑγιὲς εἰπεῖν ἔχειν; μία μοι ἴσως ἐκείνη ἄγκυρα ἔτι ἄβροχος, ὀδύρεσθαι τὸ γῆρας καὶ τὴν νόσον καὶ μετὰ τούτων τὴν πενίαν πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν ἀναπείθουσαν ὡς ἐκφύγοι τις αὐτήν. καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ οὐκ ἄκαιρον ἴσως καὶ τὴν τοῦ Εὐριπίδου Μήδειαν παρακαλέσαι παρελθοῦσαν εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἰαμβεῖα μικρὸν αὐτὰ παρῳδήσασαν·*

καὶ μανθάνω μὲν οἷα δρᾶν μέλλω κακά,
πενία δὲ κρείσσων τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων.

τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Θεόγνιδος κἂν ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω, τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, οὐκ ἀπαξιοῦντος καὶ ἐς βαθυκήτεα πόντον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ῥιπτεῖν καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν ἠλιβάτων, εἴ γε [1] *μέλλει τις οὕτως ἀποδράσεσθαι τὴν πενίαν;*

11 *Ταῦτα μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖ ἅ τις ἂν ὡς ἐν τοιούτῳ ἀπολογήσασθαι ἔχοι, οὐ πάνυ εὐπρόσωπον ἕκαστον αὐτῶν. σὺ δέ μοι θάρρει, ὦ ἑταῖρε, ὡς οὐδενὶ τούτων ἐμοῦ χρησομένου. μὴ γὰρ τοσοῦτός ποτε λιμὸς καταλάβοι τὸ Ἄργος ὡς τὴν Κυλλάραβιν* [2] *σπείρειν ἐπιχειρεῖν· οὐδ' ἡμεῖς οὕτω πένητες εὐλόγου ἀπολογίας ὡς ὑπὸ ἀπορίας τὰ τοιαῦτα κρησφύγετα πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν ζητεῖν. ἀλλά μοι ἐκεῖνο ἐννόησον, ὡς πάμπολυ διαφέρει, ἐς*

[1] So Fritzsche: *κρ. γε ἠλ. εἰ μέλλει* MSS. (*μέλλοι* F).
[2] *Κυλλάραβιν* Graevius: *σκυλλαραβίην* ΓΝ.

may be accused of flattery, and find myself knocking out a nail with a nail, as they say, and a small one with a big one at that, since flattery is considered the most servile—and therefore the worst—of all the vices.

Well then, if I am pleased with neither line of defence, am I driven to agree or to confess that I have no honourable argument? Perhaps I have still one anchor left on board, to complain of old age and disease and poverty as well, which persuades one to do or endure anything to get away from it. In such a case perhaps it is not untimely to call on Euripides' Medea to come and say in my defence those iambic lines, parodied a little:

> " I know the evil that I'm going to do,
> But poverty is stronger than my plans." [1]

I do not quote the Theognis passage, but everybody knows it, where he thinks it not improper for men to throw themselves from lofty crags into the deep yawning sea with its monsters, if one can escape poverty in that way.[2]

Such are the pleas one might bring in defence in such a case as this, none of them pretty. But don't be afraid, my friend, I'm not going to use any of them. May there never be such a famine at Argos that they try to sow the gymnasium at Cyllarabis, and may I never be so destitute of a reasonable defence that in my need I look for refuges of this sort against the accusation. But realise this: there is a very great

[1] Euripides, *Medea*, 1078, with " passion " for " poverty."
[2] Theognis, 173–178 (*Loeb* ed. J. M. Edwards, *Elegy and Iambus*, 1).

οἰκίαν τινὸς πλουσίου ὑπόμισθον παρελθόντα δουλεύειν καὶ ἀνέχεσθαι ὅσα μοί φησιν τὸ βιβλίον, ἢ δημοσίᾳ πράττοντά τι τῶν κοινῶν καὶ ἐς δύναμιν πολιτευόμενον ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρὰ βασιλέως μισθοφορεῖν. διελθὼν δὴ καὶ ἰδίᾳ καταθεὶς ἑκάτερον σκόπει· εὑρήσεις γὰρ τὸ τῶν μουσικῶν δὴ τοῦτο, δὶς διὰ πασῶν τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐοικότας ἀλλήλοις τοὺς βίους, ὅσον μόλυβδος ἀργύρῳ καὶ χαλκὸς χρυσῷ καὶ ἀνεμώνη ῥόδῳ καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ πίθηκος. μισθὸς μὲν γὰρ κἀκεῖ κἀνταῦθα καὶ τὸ ὑπ' ἄλλῳ τάττεσθαι, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα παμπόλλην ἔχει τὴν διαφωνίαν. ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ δουλεία σαφὴς καὶ οὐ πολὺ τῶν ἀργυρωνήτων καὶ οἰκοτρίβων διαφέρουσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ εἰσιόντες, οἱ δὲ τὰ κοινὰ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντες καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἔθνεσιν ὅλοις σφᾶς αὐτοὺς χρησίμους παρέχοντες οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐκ μόνου τοῦ μισθοῦ διαβάλλοιντο καὶ ἐς ὁμοιότητα καὶ κοινωνίαν τῆς κατηγορίας καθέλκοιντο· ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι τις ἁπάσας ἀναιρῶν τὰς τοιαύτας προστασίας, καὶ οὔτε οἱ τοσαῦτα [1] ἔθνη ἐπιτροπεύοντες οὔθ' οἱ τὰς πόλεις ἁρμόττοντες οὔθ' οἱ τὰς φάλαγγας ἢ στρατόπεδα ὅλα ἐγχειριζόμενοι ὀρθῶς ποιήσουσιν ἐπεὶ καὶ μισθὸς αὐτῶν τῷ ἔργῳ πρόσεστιν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀφ' ἑνός, οἶμαι, χρὴ ἀνατρέπειν τὰ πάντα οὐδ' ἰσοτιμίαν τῶν μισθοφορούντων καθιστάναι.

12 Τὸ δὲ ὅλον οὐ τοὺς μισθαρνοῦντας ἅπαντας ἐγὼ φαύλῳ βίῳ συνεῖναι ἔφασκον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπὶ προφάσει παιδεύσεως δουλεύοντας ᾤκτειρον. τουτὶ δέ, ὦ ἑταῖρε, τὸ ἡμέτερον πρᾶγμα παντάπασιν ἑτεροῖόν ἐστιν, εἴ γε τὰ μὲν οἴκοι ἰσότιμα ἡμῖν, δημοσίᾳ δὲ τῆς μεγίστης

difference between entering a rich man's house as a hireling, where one is a slave and endures what my essay describes, and entering public service, where one administers affairs as well as possible and is paid by the Emperor for doing it. Consider every detail and examine it for yourself. You will find the two lives two octaves apart, to use a musical phrase, and as like each other as lead and silver, bronze and gold, anemone and rose, monkey and man. You are paid in both cases and are under a master's orders, but there is a world of difference. In the one case the slavery is obvious, and those who enter on these conditions are not much different from slaves, whether bought or bred at home, while those who handle public business and make themselves of service to states and whole provinces cannot rightly be criticised merely because they are paid, or be brought down to the same level of general denunciation. Otherwise you must post-haste abolish all offices of this kind: neither administrators of all the provinces nor governors of cities nor commanders of corps or whole armies will please since they are paid for their work. No, you must not, I fancy, overturn everything because of an isolated example, or lump all wage-earners together.

In short I did not say that all wage-earners lived a mean and petty existence: no, it was those in private houses who endured slavery under the pretext of education that I pitied. My present situation, my friend, is altogether different. My private standing is not reduced, and in public life I take a share and

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[1] τοσαῦτα Fritzsche: τοιαῦτα MSS.

ἀρχῆς κοινωνοῦμεν καὶ τὸ μέρος συνδιαπράττομεν. ἔγωγ᾽ οὖν, εἰ σκέψαιο, δόξαιμ᾽ ἄν σοι οὐ τὸ σμικρότατον τῆς Αἰγυπτίας ταύτης ἀρχῆς ἐγκεχειρίσθαι, τὰς δίκας εἰσάγειν καὶ τάξιν αὐταῖς τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐπιτιθέναι καὶ τῶν πραττομένων καὶ λεγομένων ἁπαξαπάντων ὑπομνήματα γράφεσθαι καὶ τάς τε ῥητορείας τῶν δικαιολογούντων ῥυθμίζειν καὶ τὰς τοῦ ἄρχοντος γνώσεις πρὸς τὸ σαφέστατον ἅμα καὶ ἀκριβέστατον σὺν πίστει τῇ μεγίστῃ διαφυλάττειν καὶ παραδιδόναι δημοσίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἀποκεισομένας, καὶ ὁ μισθὸς οὐκ ἰδιωτικός, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, οὐ σμικρὸς οὐδὲ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ πολυτάλαντος· καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οὐ φαῦλαι ἐλπίδες, εἰ τὰ εἰκότα γίγνοιτο, ἀλλὰ ἔθνος ἐπιτραπῆναι ἤ τινας ἄλλας πράξεις βασιλικάς.

13 Ἐθέλω γοῦν ἐκ περιττοῦ χρησάμενος τῇ παρρησίᾳ καὶ ὁμόσε χωρήσας τῷ ἐπιφερομένῳ ἐγκλήματι καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἀπολογήσασθαι, καὶ δὴ φημί σοι μηδένα μηδὲν ἀμισθὶ ποιεῖν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν τοὺς τὰ μέγιστα πράττοντας εἴπῃς, ὅπου μηδὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ἄμισθός ἐστιν. οὐ φόρους λέγω οὐδὲ δασμούς, ὁπόσοι παρὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐπέτειοι φοιτῶσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι βασιλεῖ μισθὸς μέγιστος ἔπαινοι καὶ ἡ παρὰ πᾶσιν εὔκλεια καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις προσκυνεῖσθαι, καὶ εἰκόνες δὲ καὶ νεῲ καὶ τεμένη, ὁπόσα παρὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἔχουσι, μισθοὶ καὶ ταῦτά εἰσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν φροντίδων καὶ προνοίας, ἣν ἐκφέρονται προσκοποῦντες ἀεὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ βελτίω ποιοῦντες. ὡς δὴ μικρὰ μεγάλοις εἰκάζειν, ἢν ἐθέλῃς ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ σωροῦ κορυφῆς ἐφ᾽ ἕκαστον τούτων ἀφ᾽ ὧν σύγκειται καταβαί-

play my part in the mightiest of empires. If you consider the matter you will realise that my personal responsibility in this administration of Egypt is not the least important—the initiation of court-cases and their arrangement, the recording of all that is done and said, guiding counsel in their speeches, keeping the clearest and most accurate copy of the president's decisions in all faithfulness and putting them on public record to be preserved for all time; and my salary not from any private person, but from the emperor, and it is no small one at that, many talents in fact. For the future I have no small hopes, if what is likely comes about—the supervision of a province or some other imperial service.

So I am willing to be bolder than I need be, to close with the charge against me, and to advance beyond defence. Moreover I say to you that no one does anything without pay, not even if you instance those at the head of things, for not even the emperor himself is unpaid. I do not mean tributes and taxes that come in every year from his subjects; no, the king's most important reward is praise, universal fame, reverence for his benefactions, statues and temples and shrines bestowed on him by his subjects—all these are payment for the thought and care which such men evidence in their continual watch over the common weal and its improvement. To compare small with great, if you will begin at the top of the heap and descend to each of its component parts, you

νειν, ὄψει ὅτι μεγέθει καὶ σμικρότητι διαλλάττομεν τῶν ἀκροτάτων, τὰ δ' ἄλλα μισθοφόροι ὁμοίως ἅπαντες.

14 Εἰ *μὲν οὖν τοῦτον ἐτεθείκειν τὸν νόμον μηδένα μηδὲν πράττειν, ἔνοχος ἂν εἰκότως ἐδόκουν τῇ παρανομίᾳ, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδαμοῦ τοῦ βιβλίου λέλεκταί μοι, χρὴ δὲ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα ἐνεργὸν εἶναι, τί ἂν ἄλλο ἐς δέον αὐτῷ χρῷτο, ἢ φίλοις συμπονῶν πρὸς τὰ βέλτιστα κἀν τῷ μέσῳ ὑπαίθριος πεῖραν αὐτοῦ διδοὺς ὅπως ἔχει πίστεως καὶ σπουδῆς καὶ εὐνοίας πρὸς τὰ ἐγκεχειρισμένα, ὡς μὴ τὸ* Ὁ*μηρικὸν ἐκεῖνο " ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης "*[1] *εἴη;*

15 Πρὸ *δὲ τῶν ὅλων μεμνῆσθαι χρὴ τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας ὅτι οὐ σοφῷ ὄντι μοι—εἰ δή τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐστί που σοφός—ἐπιτιμήσουσιν ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ δήμου, λόγους μὲν ἀσκήσαντι καὶ τὰ μέτρια ἐπαινουμένῳ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἄκραν ἐκείνην τῶν κορυφαίων ἀρετὴν οὐ πάνυ γεγυμνασμένῳ. καὶ μὰ* Δί' *οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀνιᾶσθαί μοι ἄξιον, ὅτι μηδὲ ἄλλῳ ἐγὼ γοῦν ἐντετύχηκα τὴν τοῦ σοφοῦ ὑπόσχεσιν ἀποπληροῦντι. σοῦ μέντοι καὶ θαυμάσαιμ' ἂν ἐπιτιμῶντός μου τῷ νυνὶ βίῳ, εἴ γε ἐπιτιμῴης, ὃν πρὸ πολλοῦ ᾔδεις ἐπὶ ῥητορικῇ δημοσίᾳ μεγίστας μισθοφορὰς ἐνεγκάμενον, ὁπότε κατὰ θέαν τοῦ ἑσπερίου* Ὠ*κεανοῦ καὶ τὴν* Κ*ελτικὴν ἅμα ἐπιὼν ἐνέτυχες ἡμῖν τοῖς μεγαλομίσθοις τῶν σοφιστῶν ἐναριθμουμένοις.*

Ταῦτά *σοι, ὦ ἑταῖρε, καίτοι ἐν μυρίαις ταῖς*

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[1] Homer, *Il.* xviii, 104.

will see that we differ from those at the top in size, but that in other respects we are all wage-earners alike.

Now if I had laid down a law that no one must do any work, I would rightly be thought guilty of breaking it; but if this was nowhere said in my essay, but rather that a good man ought to be active, how better could he employ himself than to work with his friends for the best ends and in full view under the open sky to let his loyalty, seriousness of purpose, and good will in his undertakings be put to the test, so that he may not be "a useless burden to the earth"[1] in Homer's words?

Above all, those who censure me must remember that it is not a wise man—if such there be anywhere—whom they will censure but one from the common people, one who has trained himself in words and received moderate praise for them, but one completely unpractised in that acme of the virtues that the cream of men display. And surely I ought not to be grieved even on this account, for I at any rate have met no other who fulfilled the promise of wisdom. However I should be surprised if you were to condemn me for my present life—you knew me long ago when I was commanding the highest fees for the public practice of rhetoric, at the time when you went to see the Western Ocean and the lands of the Celts and met me: my fees were as high as those of any professor.

This then, my friend, is the defence which I offer

ἀσχολίαις ὧν ὅμως ἀπελογησάμην, οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ θέμενος τὴν λευκὴν παρὰ σοῦ καὶ πλήρη μοι ἐνεχθῆναι· ἐπεὶ πρός γε τοὺς ἄλλους, κἂν συνάμα πάντες κατηγορῶσιν, ἱκανὸν ἂν εἴη μοι τό οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ.

to you, busy though I am with countless tasks, thinking it of prime importance to secure my full acquittal at your hands. As for the rest, even if they all condemn me unanimously, I shall be content to quote "Hippoclides doesn't care."[1]

[1] A proverb from the story in Herodotus, vi, 127–129.

HARMONIDES

An appeal to a patron for support. The story of Harmonides and Timotheus gives point to the inevitable flattery.

ΑΡΜΟΝΙΔΗΣ

1 Ἁρμονίδης ὁ αὐλητὴς ἤρετό ποτε Τιμόθεον διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ ὄντα, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Τιμόθεε, πῶς ἂν ἔνδοξος γενοίμην ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ; καὶ τί ποιοῦντα εἴσονταί με οἱ Ἕλληνες ἅπαντες; τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα εὖ ποιῶν ἐδιδάξω με ἤδη, ἁρμόσασθαι τὸν αὐλὸν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἐμπνεῖν ἐς τὴν γλωσσίδα λεπτόν τι καὶ ἐμμελὲς καὶ ὑποβάλλειν τοὺς δακτύλους εὐαφῶς ὑπὸ πυκνῇ τῇ ἄρσει καὶ θέσει καὶ βαίνειν ἐν ῥυθμῷ καὶ σύμφωνα εἶναι [1] τὰ μέλη πρὸς τὸν χορὸν καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας ἑκάστης διαφυλάττειν τὸ ἴδιον, τῆς Φρυγίου τὸ ἔνθεον, τῆς Λυδίου τὸ Βακχικόν, τῆς Δωρίου τὸ σεμνόν, τῆς Ἰωνικῆς τὸ γλαφυρόν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πάντα ἐκμεμάθηκα παρὰ σοῦ· τὰ μέγιστα δὲ καὶ ὧν ἕνεκα ἐπεθύμησα τῆς αὐλητικῆς, οὐχ ὁρῶ πῶς ἂν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς μοι προσγένοιτο, ἡ δόξα ἡ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τὸ ἐπίσημον εἶναι ἐν πλήθεσι καὶ δείκνυσθαι τῷ δακτύλῳ, καὶ ἤν που φανῶ, εὐθὺς ἐπιστρέφεσθαι πάντας εἰς ἐμὲ καὶ λέγειν τοὔνομα, οὗτος Ἁρμονίδης ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ ἄριστος αὐλητής, ὥσπερ ὅτε καὶ σύ, ὦ Τιμόθεε, τὸ πρῶτον ἐλθὼν οἴκοθεν ἐκ Βοιωτίας ὑπηύλησας τῇ Πανδιονίδι καὶ ἐνίκησας [2] ἐν τῷ Αἴαντι τῷ ἐμμανεῖ, τοῦ ὁμωνύμου [3] σοι ποιήσαντος τὸ μέλος, οὐδεὶς ἦν ὃς

[1] εἶναι Macleod: εἶναι MSS.

HARMONIDES

Harmonides the pipe-player once asked Timotheus, who was his teacher. "Tell me, Timotheus, how can I become famous in the art? What must I do to become known to all the Greek world? You have already (and I thank you) taught me the rest of the art: I mean, to tune the pipe accurately, to blow lightly and harmoniously into the mouthpiece, to fit the fingers with easy touch to the full rise and fall of the music, to step in rhythm, to direct the music harmoniously in the direction of the dancers, and to master the peculiarities of each mode—the frenzy of the Phrygian, the excitement of the Lydian, the dignity of the Dorian, the elegance of the Ionian. All this I have learnt from you. But the most important matter—the reason for my interest in the art of pipe-playing—I don't see how pipe-playing will ever bring me to it. I mean universal fame, being noticed in a crowd, being pointed at, and on putting in an appearance anywhere having everyone turn towards me and say my name, 'That is Harmonides the outstanding piper'; just as when you too, Timotheus, first left your home in Boeotia and accompanied the *Daughter of Pandion* and won the victory in the *Ajax Mad*, playing the music your namesake had written for you, every single person

[2] ἐνίκησας Jens: νικήσας MSS: νὴ Δί' ᾖσας L. A. Post.
[3] ὁμωνύμου Manilius: ὁμώνυμόν MSS.

ἠγνόει τοὔνομα, Τιμόθεον ἐκ Θηβῶν. ἀλλ᾽ ἔνθα ἂν καὶ νῦν φανῇς, συνθέουσιν ἐπὶ σὲ πάντες ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τὴν γλαῦκα τὰ ὄρνεα. ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν δι᾽ ἅπερ ηὐξάμην αὐλητὴς γενέσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν πεπόνηκα τὸν πόνον τὸν πολύν· ἐπεὶ τό γε αὐλεῖν αὐτὸ ἄνευ τοῦ ἔνδοξον εἶναι δι᾽ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἂν δεξαίμην ἀγνώστῳ μοι προσγενόμενον, οὐδ᾽ εἰ Μαρσύας ἢ Ὄλυμπος γενήσεσθαι μέλλοιμι λανθάνων. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄφελος ἀπορρήτου, φασί, καὶ ἀφανοῦς τῆς μουσικῆς. ἀλλὰ σύ, ἔφη, καὶ ταῦτα παίδευσόν με, ὅπως μοι χρηστέον κἀμαυτῷ καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ, καί σοι διττὴν εἴσομαι τὴν χάριν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐλήσει καί, τὸ μέγιστον, ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτῆς.

2 Ἀποκρίνεται οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ Τιμόθεος, Ἀλλ᾽, ὦ Ἁρμονίδη, ἐρᾷς μέν, ἔφη, εὖ ἴσθι, οὐ μικροῦ πράγματος, ἐπαίνου καὶ δόξης καὶ ἐπίσημος εἶναι καὶ γιγνώσκεσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν, τοῦτο δὲ εἰ μὲν οὑτωσί πως ἐς τὰ πλήθη παριὼν ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἐθέλοις πορίζεσθαι, μακρὸν ἂν γένοιτο, καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἅπαντες εἴσονταί σε. ποῦ γὰρ ἂν εὑρεθείη ἢ θέατρον ἢ στάδιον οὕτω μέγα, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσιν αὐλήσεις τοῖς Ἕλλησιν; ὡς δὲ ποιήσας γνωσθήσῃ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πέρας ἀφίξῃ τῆς εὐχῆς, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο ὑποθήσομαί σοι· σὺ γὰρ αὔλει μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὰ θέατρα ἐνίοτε, ἀτὰρ ὀλίγον μελέτω σοι τῶν πολλῶν. ἡ δὲ ἐπίτομος καὶ ῥᾷστα ἐπὶ τὴν δόξαν ἄγουσα ἥδε ἐστίν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ ὀλίγους αὐτῶν ὅσοι κορυφαῖοι καὶ ἀναμφιλόγως θαυμαστοὶ καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα πιστοί, εἰ τούτοις, φημί, ἐπιδείξαιο τὰ αὐλήματα καὶ οὗτοι ἐπαινέσον-

knew your name, Timotheus of Thebes. Whenever you appear there now, everyone flocks round you like birds around an owl. This was my reason for wanting to become a pipe-player and undertaking the hard training. I shouldn't consider taking up pipe-playing for its own sake without its attendant reputation, and if I were to remain in obscurity. No, not even if I were to be an unknown Marsyas or Olympus. It's no use, they say, if musical skill is to be secret and kept hidden. But teach me this as well, how to do some good to myself as well as our art and I shall feel doubly grateful to you—for the pipe-playing and, most important of all, for the glory it confers."

Timotheus replied, "You must realise, Harmonides, that it is no small thing that you're in love with—praise and reputation, distinction and being known to the public—, but if this is what you want—to be able to go into crowds in this way and to be pointed out—, it will be a long business, and not even then will you be known to everyone. Where would you find a theatre or stadium big enough to play to all the Greeks? But I'll suggest a way of becoming known to them and attaining your hopes in all their fullness: play the pipe sometimes in theatres as well yet take but little notice of the crowd. This is the easiest short cut to a reputation. For if you choose only the best of Greece and of these just the few at the top, men of undisputed genius and reliable judgment, if, I say, you show off your pipe-pieces to them and they praise you, then you can think your-

ταί σε, ἅπασιν Ἕλλησι νόμιζε ἤδη γεγενῆσθαι γνώριμος ἐν οὕτω βραχεῖ. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅρα πῶς συντίθημι· εἰ γὰρ οὓς ἅπαντες ἴσασι καὶ οὓς θαυμάζουσιν, οὗτοι δὲ εἴσονταί σε αὐλητὴν εὐδόκιμον ὄντα, τί σοι δεῖ τῶν πολλῶν, οἵ γε πάντως ἀκολουθήσουσι τοῖς ἄμεινον κρῖναι δυναμένοις; ὁ γάρ τοι πολὺς οὗτος λεώς, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀγνοοῦσι τὰ βελτίω, βάναυσοι ὄντες οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, ὅντινα δ' ἂν οἱ προὔχοντες ἐπαινέσωσι, πιστεύουσι μὴ ἂν ἀλόγως ἐπαινεθῆναι τοῦτον· ὥστε ἐπαινέσουσι καὶ αὐτοί. καὶ γὰρ οὖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ θεαταὶ ἴσασι [1] κροτῆσαί ποτε καὶ συρίσαι, κρίνουσι δὲ ἑπτὰ ἢ πέντε ἢ ὅσοι δή.

3 Ταῦτα ὁ μὲν Ἁρμονίδης οὐκ ἔφθη ποιῆσαι. μεταξὺ γὰρ αὐλῶν, φασίν, ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἠγωνίζετο, φιλοτιμότερον ἐμφυσῶν ἐναπέπνευσε τῷ αὐλῷ καὶ ἀστεφάνωτος ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἀπέθανε τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ πρῶτον καὶ ὕστατον αὐλήσας ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις.

Ὁ μέντοι τοῦ Τιμοθέου λόγος οὐκ αὐληταῖς οὐδὲ Ἁρμονίδῃ μόνον εἰρῆσθαί μοι δοκεῖ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ὅσοι δόξης ὀρέγονται δημόσιόν τι ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, τοῦ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπαίνου δεόμενοι. ἔγωγ' οὖν ὁπότε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνενόουν τὰ ὅμοια περὶ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ ἐζήτουν ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα γνωσθείην πᾶσιν, τῷ Τιμοθέου λόγῳ ἑπόμενος ἐσκοπούμην ὅστις ὁ ἄριστος εἴη τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὅτῳ πιστεύσουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ ὃς ἀντὶ πάντων ἀρκέσειεν ἄν. οὕτω δὲ ἄρα σὺ ἔμελλες ἡμῖν φαίνεσθαι τῷ δικαίῳ λόγῳ, ὅ τι περ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀρετῆς ἁπάσης, ὁ γνώμων, φασί, καὶ ὁ ὀρθὸς κανὼν τῶν τοιούτων. εἰ δέ σοι δείξαιμι τἀμὰ

self a man of repute in the eyes of all the Greeks after this short trial. Do you see what my plan does for you? Suppose that those whom everyone knows and admires recognise that you are a piper of ability, then you can ignore the crowd—they will always follow men of superior judgment. This great mass doesn't recognise quality for itself—most of them are low, vulgar fellows—but when acclaim is won from men of standing, they all believe it is due and reasonable, and they too will acclaim. The truth, you see, is that even when watching competitions plenty of spectators know how to clap at the end and hiss, but judgment is the prerogative of the odd half dozen."

Harmonides did not have time to carry out these instructions. The story goes that during his first attempt at winning the pipe competition, his competitive blowing was so keen that he blew his last breath on his pipe and died on the stage uncrowned: his one Dionysiac performance was his first and his last.

It seems to me that Timotheus's principle applies not only to pipe-playing and Harmonides but to all those who look for fame by making a public exhibition of themselves, aiming at the applause of the crowd. Take my own case. When I was contemplating something similar for myself and was looking for the quickest means of acquiring a general reputation, I took Timotheus's advice. I looked for the best man in the city, the one everybody else would believe, the one who would suffice for all. You alone could reasonably be seen as the man, you the sum of all excellence, the measure, as they say, and model of accuracy in all such matters. To show you

[1] ἴσασι one late MSS.: εἰσι(ν) other MSS.

καὶ σὺ ἐπαινέσειας αὐτά—εἴη γὰρ οὕτω φανήσεσθαι—, καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ πέρας ἥκειν με τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐν μιᾷ ψήφῳ τὰς ἁπάσας λαβόντα. ἢ τίνα γὰρ ἂν πρὸ σοῦ ἑλόμενος οὐχὶ παραπαίειν ἂν δικαίως νομισθείην; ὥστε λόγῳ μὲν ἐφ' ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀναρρίψομεν τὸν κύβον, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τοὺς ἁπανταχόθεν ἀνθρώπους συγκαλέσας ἐς κοινὸν θέατρον ἐπιδεικνυοίμην τοὺς λόγους. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς καθ' ἕνα τε καὶ συνάμα πάντων συνειλεγμένων μόνος αὐτὸς ἀμείνων ἂν ἦσθα. οἱ μέν γε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς, τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάστου μίαν ψῆφον φερόντων, ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν δύο ἔφερον, σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ τὰς τῶν γερόντων προσέτι, καὶ ὅλως ἁπάντων ὁ πολυψηφότατος ἐν παιδείᾳ σύ γε, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσῳ τὴν λευκὴν ἀεὶ καὶ σῴζουσαν φέρεις, ὃ καὶ θαρρεῖν με ἐν [1] τῷ παρόντι ποιεῖ διά γε τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ τολμήματος καὶ πάνυ δικαίως ἂν φοβηθέντα. κἀκεῖνο δὲ νὴ Δία προσέτι καὶ αὐτὸ θαρρεῖν ποιεῖ, τὸ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀλλότρια τἀμὰ εἶναί σοι, ὃς πόλεώς γε [2] ἐκείνης εἰμί, ἣν πολλάκις εὖ ἐποίησας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἰδίᾳ, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον κοινῇ μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους. ὥστε ἤν που καὶ νῦν ἐμοὶ ἐς τὸ χεῖρον ῥέπωσιν αἱ ψῆφοι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐλάττους ὦσιν αἱ ἀμείνους, σὺ δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς προστιθεὶς ἀναπλήρου τὸ ἐνδέον παρὰ σεαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐπανόρθωμα οἰκεῖόν σοι δοκείτω.

4 Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνό μοι ἱκανόν, εἰ πολλοὶ ἐθαύμασαν πρότερον, εἰ ἔνδοξος ἤδη ἐγώ, εἰ

[1] με ἐν Jacobitz : μὲν Γ : με other MSS.
[2] γε Fritzsche : τε MSS.

my work and for you to give it your praise—if only that could be!—then indeed would I have attained the fullness of my desire, winning the votes of all through that of you alone. Whom could I prefer to you without being rightly considered out of my wits? It could be said that I would be staking everything on one man, but in reality it is as if I had assembled the whole population in one theatre as audience for my words. For the plain fact is that by yourself you would be a better judge than the whole assembly taken singly or together. Now the kings of Sparta alone had two votes each, the rest had one: but you carry the weight of ephors and council as well, and in short in the field of culture you have a block vote that outvotes all. Most important of all you always hold the casting vote that secures an acquittal. This gives me courage at the present time, for I might well be nervous—my presumption is so great. There is in all truth an additional reason for my confidence: my interests are not altogether alien to you, inasmuch as I am a native of a city that has often been a beneficiary of your good will, both in specific acts of kindness and generally in company with the rest of the nation. So if at the present time the voting is going against me in the count and the favourable votes are in a minority, like Athena give your casting-vote [1] and make up the deficiency in your own person, and let the credit be yours for setting the matter right.

It is not enough for me that many may have expressed admiration before, that I may have some

[1] Orestes was acquitted by Athena's casting vote; see Aeschylus, *Eumenides*.

ἐπαινοῦνται πρὸς τῶν ἀκουσάντων οἱ λόγοι. πάντα ἐκεῖνα ὑπηνέμια ὀνείρατα, φασί, καὶ ἐπαίνων σκιαί. τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐν τῷ παρόντι δειχθήσεται· οὗτος ἀκριβὴς ὅρος τῶν ἐμῶν, οὐδὲν ἀμφίδοξον ἔτι οὐδ' ὡς ἄν τις ἐνδοιάσειεν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἄριστον κατὰ παιδείαν δεήσει νομίζεσθαι, σοί γε δόξαν, ἢ πάντων—εὐφημεῖν δὲ χρὴ πρὸς οὕτω μέγαν ἀγῶνα χωροῦντα. δόξαιμεν γάρ, ὦ θεοί, λόγου ἄξιοι καὶ βεβαιώσαιτε ἡμῖν τὸν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔπαινον, ὡς τὸ λοιπὸν θαρροῦντας ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς παρεῖναι. πᾶν γὰρ ἤδη στάδιον ἧττον φοβερὸν τῷ Ὀλύμπια τὰ μεγάλα νενικηκότι.

reputation already, that my works are praised by those who have heard them—all this is empty show, as they say, a mere shadow of approval. Now the truth will appear; this is the strict measure of my work. There will henceforth be no doubt, no hesitation. I must be judged now either supreme in the field of literature, for this is your verdict, or of all men—but I must utter no word of ill omen now that I am entering on such a mighty contest. Heaven grant me your approval and confirmation of my reputation! Then for the future I shall face the world with a brave heart. Any other stadium already holds less terror for the man who has won the great prizes of Olympia.

A CONVERSATION WITH HESIOD

Lycinus attacks Hesiod, and through him all poets who make similar claims, for claiming to prophesy the future.

ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΣΙΟΔΟΝ

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

1 Ἀλλὰ ποιητὴν μὲν ἄριστον εἶναί σε, ὦ Ἡσίοδε, καὶ τοῦτο παρὰ Μουσῶν λαβεῖν μετὰ τῆς δάφνης αὐτός τε δεικνύεις ἐν οἷς ποιεῖς—ἔνθεα γὰρ καὶ σεμνὰ πάντα—καὶ ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν οὕτως ἔχειν. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἀπορῆσαι ἄξιον, τί δήποτε προειπὼν ὑπὲρ σαυτοῦ ὡς διὰ τοῦτο λάβοις τὴν θεσπέσιον ἐκείνην ᾠδὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ὅπως κλείοις καὶ ὑμνοίης τὰ παρεληλυθότα καὶ θεσπίζοις τὰ ἐσόμενα, θάτερον μὲν καὶ πάνυ ἐντελῶς ἐξενήνοχας θεῶν τε γενέσεις διηγούμενος ἄχρι καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἐκείνων, χάους καὶ γῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἔρωτος—ἔτι δὲ γυναικῶν ἀρετὰς καὶ παραινέσεις γεωργικάς, καὶ ὅσα περὶ Πλειάδων καὶ ὅσα περὶ καιρῶν ἀρότου καὶ ἀμήτου καὶ πλοῦ καὶ ὅλως τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων· θάτερον δὲ καὶ ὃ χρησιμώτερον ἦν τῷ βίῳ παρὰ πολὺ καὶ θεῶν δωρεαῖς μᾶλλον ἐοικός—λέγω δὲ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων προαγόρευσιν—, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξαπέφηνας, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέρος τοῦτο πᾶν λήθῃ παραδέδωκας οὐδαμοῦ τῆς ποιήσεως ἢ τὸν Κάλχαντα ἢ τὸν Τήλεμον ἢ τὸν Πολύειδον ἢ καὶ Φινέα μιμησάμενος οἳ μηδὲ παρὰ Μουσῶν τούτου τυχόντες ὅμως προεθέσπιζον καὶ οὐκ ὤκνουν χρᾶν τοῖς δεομένοις.

2 Ὥστε ἀνάγκη σοι τῶν τριῶν τούτων αἰτιῶν μιᾷ γε πάντως ἐνέχεσθαι· ἢ γὰρ ἐψεύσω, εἰ καὶ πικρὸν

A CONVERSATION WITH HESIOD

LYCINUS

That you are the best of poets, Hesiod, and that Muses gave you this honour along with the laurel, you yourself prove from your poetry, where all is inspired and stately, and we believe it's true. But one thing puzzles us. You claim on your own behalf that you had received that divine song from heaven so that you might sing the praises of the past and prophesy the future. Now the one task you accomplished fully enough in your account of the birth of the gods up to those primeval beings Chaos, Earth, Heaven, and Love; again you told of virtuous women and gave advice to farmers—what the Pleiades mean, the right times for ploughing, reaping, sailing, and all the rest. But your second intention, far more useful to life and more akin to divine gifts—prophecy of the future I mean—, you did not even begin. No, you let the whole subject be forgotten and nowhere in your poetry have you followed the example of Calchas or Telemus or Polyidus or even Phineus, who did not even receive this gift from Muses but prophesied all the same and never hesitated to give oracles to those who asked.

So you must be assuredly liable to one of these three charges: either you were lying, to put it

εἰπεῖν, ὡς ὑποσχομένων σοι τῶν Μουσῶν καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προλέγειν δύνασθαι· ἢ αἱ μὲν ἔδοσαν ὥσπερ ὑπέσχοντο, σὺ δὲ ὑπὸ φθόνου ἀποκρύπτεις καὶ ὑπὸ κόλπου φυλάττεις τὴν δωρεὰν οὐ μεταδιδοὺς αὐτῆς τοῖς δεομένοις· ἢ γέγραπται μέν σοι καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλά, οὐδέπω δὲ αὐτὰ τῷ βίῳ παραδέδωκας οὐκ οἶδα εἰς ὅν καιρόν τινα ἄλλον ταμιευόμενος τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῶν. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τολμήσαιμ' ἂν εἰπεῖν, ὡς αἱ Μοῦσαι δύο σοι παρέξειν ὑποσχόμεναι τὸ μὲν ἔδοσαν, ἐξ ἡμισείας δὲ ἀνεκαλέσαντο τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν—λέγω δὲ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων γνῶσιν—καὶ ταῦτα προτέραν αὐτὴν ἐν
3 τῷ ἔπει ὑπεσχημέναι. Ταῦτα οὖν παρὰ τίνος ἄλλου, Ἡσίοδε, ἢ παρ' αὐτοῦ σοῦ μάθοι τις ἄν; πρέποι γὰρ ἄν, ὥσπερ οἱ θεοὶ "δωτῆρες ἐάων" εἰσίν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν, τοῖς φίλοις καὶ μαθηταῖς αὐτῶν, μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας ἐξηγεῖσθαι περὶ ὧν ἴστε καὶ λύειν ἡμῖν τὰς ἀπορίας.

ΗΣΙΟΔΟΣ

4 Ἐνῆν μέν μοι, ὦ βέλτιστε, ῥᾳδίαν ἀπόκρισιν ἀποκρίνεσθαί σοι περὶ ἁπάντων, ὅτι μηδέν ἐστιν τῶν ἐρραψῳδημένων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἴδιον ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ τῶν Μουσῶν, καὶ ἐχρῆν σε παρ' ἐκείνων τοὺς λογισμοὺς τῶν τε εἰρημένων καὶ τῶν παραλελειμμένων ἀπαιτεῖν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ μὲν ὧν ἰδίᾳ ἠπιστάμην—λέγω δὲ τοῦ νέμειν καὶ ποιμαίνειν καὶ ἐξελαύνειν καὶ βδάλλειν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα ποιμένων ἔργα καὶ μαθήματα—δίκαιος ἂν εἴην ἀπολογεῖσθαι· αἱ θεαὶ δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν δωρεὰς οἷς τε ἂν ἐθέλωσι καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν οἴωνται καλῶς ἔχειν μεταδιδόασιν.

harshly, when you said that the Muses promised you power to foretell the future; or they kept their promise, but out of spite you are keeping their gift hidden in your pocket and not sharing it with those who ask; or you have written a great deal on the subject, but not yet given it to the outside world, preserving its use for some or other special occasion. I wouldn't dare say this, that the Muses promised you two things and gave you one, breaking half their promise—knowledge of the future I mean—especially when they promised this first in your work. Who but you yourself could tell us this, Hesiod? As the gods are "givers of goods,"[1] so it is proper for you poets, their friends and disciples, to expound in all sincerity the knowledge you have and free us from our perplexity.

HESIOD

My fine friend, there is an easy answer to it all. I could say that nothing that I composed belonged to me personally, but to the Muses, and you should have asked them for an account of what was put in and what left out. But for what I knew for myself—tending, herding, driving, milking, and the other practices and lore of shepherds—I would be rightly accountable; but the goddesses give their gifts to whom they will and for as long as they think it proper.

[1] Homer, *Od.* viii, 325.

5 Ὅμως δὲ οὐκ ἀπορήσω πρὸς σὲ καὶ ποιητικῆς ἀπολογίας.[1] οὐ γάρ, οἶμαι, χρὴ παρὰ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐς τὸ λεπτότατον ἀκριβολογουμένους ἀπαιτεῖν κατὰ συλλαβὴν ἑκάστην ἐντελῆ πάντως τὰ εἰρημένα, κἂν εἴ τι ἐν τῷ τῆς ποιήσεως δρόμῳ παραρρυὲν λάθῃ, πικρῶς τοῦτο ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλ' εἰδέναι ὅτι πολλὰ ἡμεῖς καὶ τῶν μέτρων ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς εὐφωνίας ἐπεμβάλλομεν· τὰ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔπος αὐτὸ πολλάκις λεῖα ὄντα οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως παρεδέξατο. σὺ δὲ τὸ μέγιστον ὧν ἔχομεν ἀγαθῶν ἀφαιρῇ ἡμᾶς—λέγω δὲ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅσα τῆς ποιήσεως καλά, σκινδαλάμους δὲ καὶ ἀκάνθας τινὰς ἐκλέγεις καὶ λαβὰς τῇ συκοφαντίᾳ ζητεῖς. ἀλλ' οὐ μόνος ταῦτα σὺ οὐδὲ κατ' ἐμοῦ μόνου, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τὰ τοῦ ὁμοτέχνου τοῦ ἐμοῦ Ὁμήρου κατακνίζουσι λεπτὰ οὕτω κομιδῇ
6 καὶ μάλιστα μικρὰ ἄττα διεξιόντες. εἰ δὲ καὶ χρὴ ὁμόσε χωρήσαντα τῇ αἰτίᾳ τὴν ὀρθοτάτην ἀπολογίαν ἀπολογήσασθαι, ἀνάγνωθι, ὦ οὗτος, τὰ Ἔργα μου καὶ τὰς Ἡμέρας. εἴσῃ γὰρ ὅσα ἐν τῷ ποιήματι τούτῳ μαντικῶς ἅμα καὶ προφητικῶς προτεθέσπισταί μοι τὰς ἀποβάσεις προδηλοῦντα τῶν τε ὀρθῶς καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν πραττομένων καὶ τῶν παραλελειμμένων τὰς ζημίας. καὶ τὸ

οἴσεις δ' ἐν φορμῷ, παῦροι δέ σε θηήσονται,

καὶ πάλιν ὅσα ἀγαθὰ περιέσται τοῖς ὀρθῶς γεωργοῦσιν χρησιμωτάτη ἂν[2] τῷ βίῳ μαντικὴ νομίζοιτο.

[1] ἀπολογίας γ: ἀστυλογίας β.

Nevertheless I shall not fail to defend my poetry against you. It is not, I think, proper to examine poetry in minute detail, nor to demand complete perfection down to every syllable of what is said, nor again to criticise bitterly any unconscious oversight in the flow of the composition. No, you must realise that we include much for the sake of both metre and euphony, and often the verse itself has somehow let in some things, they fit so smoothly. But you are robbing us of our greatest possession—I mean freedom and poetic licence. You are blind to the other beauties of poetry, and pick out a few splinters and thorns and seek out handles for captious criticism. You are not alone in this, nor am I the only victim. Many others pick the poetry of my fellow-craftsman Homer utterly to pieces, pointing out similar niggling details, the merest trifles. Well, if I have to come to grips with the charge, and make a clear-cut defence, read my *Works and Days*, my man. You will see how much, like a real seer and prophet, I foretold in that poem, predicting the outcome of right and timely action and the penalties of neglect. Remember my

> "you will carry it in a basket, and few there'll be to admire"[1]

and again the blessings that follow right farming—this should be thought a prophecy most useful for living.

[1] *Works and Days*, 482; i.e., "your harvest will be poor."

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[2] ἂν Dindorf: ἐν MSS.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

7 Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν, ὦ θαυμαστὲ Ἡσίοδε, καὶ πάνυ ποιμενικὸν εἴρηταί σοι, καὶ ἐπαληθεύειν ἔοικας τὴν τῶν Μουσῶν ἐπίπνοιαν [1] αὐτὸς οὐδ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπῶν δυνάμενος. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ ταύτην τὴν μαντικὴν παρὰ σοῦ καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν περιεμένομεν· ἐπεὶ τά γε τοιαῦτα πολὺ [2] μαντικώτεροι ὑμῶν οἱ γεωργοί, καὶ ἄριστα μαντεύσαιντ' ἂν ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτῶν—ὅτι ὕσαντος μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ εὐθαλῆ ἔσται τὰ δράγματα, ἢν δὲ αὐχμὸς ἐπιλάβῃ καὶ διψήσωσιν αἱ ἄρουραι, οὐδεμία μηχανὴ μὴ οὐχὶ λιμὸν ἐπακολουθῆσαι τῷ δίψει αὐτῶν· καὶ ὅτι οὐ μεσοῦντος θέρους χρὴ ἀροῦν, ἢ οὐκ ἄν τι ὄφελος γένοιτο εἰκῇ ἐκχυθέντων τῶν σπερμάτων οὐδὲ ἀμᾶν χλωρὸν ἔτι τὸν στάχυν, ἢ κενὸν εὑρεθήσεσθαι τὸν καρπόν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο μαντείας δεῖται, ὡς ἢν μὴ καλύψῃς τὰ σπέρματα καὶ θεράπων μακέλλην ἔχων ἐπιφορῇ [3] τῆς γῆς αὐτοῖς, καταπτήσεται τὰ ὄρνεα καὶ προκατεδεῖται τὴν ἅπασαν τοῦ θέρους ἐλπίδα.

8 Τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα παραινέσεις μὲν καὶ ὑποθήκας λέγων οὐκ ἄν τις ἁμαρτάνοι, μαντικῆς δὲ πάμπολυ ἀποδεῖν μοι δοκεῖ, ἧς τὸ ἔργον τὰ ἄδηλα καὶ οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς φανερὰ προγιγνώσκειν—ὥσπερ τὸ τῷ Μίνωϊ προειπεῖν ὅτι ἐν τῷ τοῦ μέλιτος πίθῳ ὁ παῖς ἔσται [4] αὐτῷ ἀποπεπνιγμένος, καὶ τὸ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς προμηνῦσαι τῆς Ἀπόλλωνος ὀργῆς τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τῷ δεκάτῳ ἔτει ἁλώσεσθαι τὸ Ἴλιον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἡ μαντική. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἴ τις αὐτῇ ἀνατιθείη, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι

[1] ἐπίπνοιαν N: ἐπίνοιαν ΓΑ.
[2] πολλοὶ Γ.

LYCINUS

In that, my admirable Hesiod, there speaks the true shepherd; you seem to be truly inspired by the Muses, when you yourself cannot even make a defence of your verse. But this is not the prophecy we expected from you and the Muses. In that sort of thing the farmers are much better prophets than you poets. They can foretell such things excellently to us: for instance, that after rain the crops will flourish, while in the time of drought when the fields are thirsty, you can do nothing to prevent famine following their thirst; that you must not plough in the middle of summer; that it is no good scattering seed at random or cutting the corn when it is still green, or you will find the ear empty. Nor is there any need whatever to prophesy this, that unless you cover up the seed and your man pulls soil over with a hoe, down will fly the birds and eat up all your summer's hope in advance.

One could not go wrong in giving such precepts and admonitions, but they seem to me very far from prophecy. Prophecy's task is to know in advance what is unknown and altogether beyond perception —for example, to foretell to Minos that his son [1] will be smothered in the jar of honey, and forewarn the Achaeans of the reason for Apollo's anger and that Troy will be captured in the tenth year. That is prophecy. If such things as you mention are to

[1] Glaucus. See Graves, *The Greek Myths*, vol. I, p. 304 (Penguin Books Ltd.).

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[3] καλύψῃς (sic.) . . . ἐπιφοροίῃ ΓΝ: ἐπιφορῇ Dindorf.
[4] ἐστιν ΓΑ.

κἀμὲ μάντιν λέγων. προερῶ γὰρ καὶ προθεσπιῶ καὶ ἄνευ Κασταλίας καὶ δάφνης καὶ τρίποδος Δελφικοῦ ὅτι ἂν γυμνὸς τοῦ κρύους περινοστῇ τις, ὕοντος προσέτι ἢ χαλαζῶντος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἠπίαλος οὐ μικρὸς ἐπιπεσεῖται τῷ τοιούτῳ, καί, τὸ ἔτι γε τούτου μαντικώτερον, ὅτι καὶ θέρμη μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς ἐπιγενήσεται· καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὧν γελοῖον ἂν εἴη μεμνῆσθαι.

9 *Ὥστε τὰς μὲν τοιαύτας ἀπολογίας καὶ μαντείας ἄφες. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ὃ εἴρηκας ἐν ἀρχῇ, ἴσως παραδέχεσθαι ἄξιον, ὡς οὐδὲν ᾔδεισθα τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλά τις ἔμπνοια δαιμόνιος ἐνεποίει σοι τὰ μέτρα, οὐ πάνυ οὐδὲ ἐκείνη βέβαιος οὖσα· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὰ μὲν ἐπετέλει τῶν ὑπεσχημένων, τὰ δ᾽ ἀτελῆ ἀπελίμπανεν.*

be ascribed to it, I too must be called a prophet without a moment's delay. Even without Castalia and the laurel and the Delphic tripod, I will foretell and predict that if a man walks about naked in time of frost, with rain and hail falling as well, he will catch a chill and not a slight one, and, what is even more prophetic, a fever will in all probability follow; and so on—it would be ridiculous to mention all that I could foretell.

Then away with such pleas and prophecies! But that point you made at the beginning, perhaps that can be admitted, that you knew nothing of what you said; it was some divine inspiration filled you with your verses, and not so very reliable at that, or it would not have kept part of what it promised and left the rest unfulfilled.

THE SCYTHIAN OR THE CONSUL

Lucian, now in Macedonia, appeals to a father and son for their patronage and, as in *Harmonides*, tells a traditional story to point the flattery. For another story of Anacharsis the Scythian see his *Anacharsis* (*Loeb*, vol. IV, pp. 1 ff.).

ΣΚΥΘΗΣ Η ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΣ

1 Οὐ πρῶτος[1] Ἀνάχαρσις ἀφίκετο ἐκ Σκυθίας Ἀθήναζε παιδείας ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ Τόξαρις πρὸ αὐτοῦ, σοφὸς μὲν καὶ φιλόκαλος ἀνὴρ καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων φιλομαθὴς τῶν ἀρίστων, οἴκοι δὲ οὐ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους ὢν οὐδὲ τῶν πιλοφορικῶν, ἀλλὰ Σκυθῶν τῶν πολλῶν καὶ δημοτικῶν, οἷοί εἰσι παρ' αὐτοῖς οἱ ὀκτάποδες καλούμενοι, τοῦτο δέ ἐστι, δύο βοῶν δεσπότην εἶναι καὶ ἁμάξης μιᾶς. οὗτος ὁ Τόξαρις οὐδὲ ἀπῆλθεν ἔτι ὀπίσω ἐς Σκύθας, ἀλλ' Ἀθήνησιν ἀπέθανεν, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ ἥρως ἔδοξεν καὶ ἐντέμνουσιν αὐτῷ Ξένῳ Ἰατρῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· τοῦτο γὰρ τοὔνομα ἥρως γενόμενος ἐπεκτήσατο. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν τῆς ἐπωνυμίας καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου ἐς τοὺς ἥρωας κατελέγη καὶ τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν εἷς ἔδοξεν, οὐ χεῖρον ἴσως διηγήσασθαι, ὡς μάθητε οὐ Σκύθαις μόνον ἐπιχώριον ὂν ἀπαθανατίζειν καὶ πέμπειν παρὰ τὸν Ζάμολξιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐξεῖναι θεοποιεῖν τοὺς Σκύθας ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

2 Κατὰ τὸν λοιμὸν τὸν μέγαν ἔδοξεν ἡ Ἀρχιτέλους γυνή, Ἀρεοπαγίτου ἀνδρός, ἐπιστάντα οἱ τὸν

[1] πρῶτος edd.: πρῶτον MSS.

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[1] Literally "those who wear the πῖλος," or felt cap, a mark of rank among the Scythians.

THE SCYTHIAN OR THE CONSUL

Anacharsis was not the first to come from Scythia to Athens out of a longing for Greek culture. Before him there was Toxaris, a wise man, who loved beauty and was eager in pursuit of the best styles of living. At home he was not a member of the royal family or of the aristocracy[1]; he belonged to the general run of the people—called "eight feet" in Scythia, meaning the owner of two oxen and a cart. This Toxaris never went back to Scythia, but died in Athens, where not long after his death he came to be considered a hero, and the Athenians sacrifice to him as "The Foreign Physician"—this was the name they gave him when they made him a hero. The reason for this designation, and the events which brought about his enrolment among the heroes, and his reputation as one of the sons of Asclepius are perhaps worth relating. Then you may see that to confer immortality on someone and send him to Zamolxis[2] is a custom not of the Scythians only—it is also possible for Athenians to deify Scythians in Greece.

At the time of the great plague[3] the wife of Archetiles the Areopagite dreamed that the Scythian

[2] The Thracian Getae regarded Zamolxis (or Zalmoxis) as the only true god; they believed in the immortality of the soul and looked on death as "going to Zamolxis." See Herodotus iv, 94, and Harmon's note, vol. V, pp. 430 f.

[3] 430–429 B.C.

Σκύθην κελεῦσαι εἰπεῖν Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι παύσονται τῷ λοιμῷ ἐχόμενοι, ἢν τοὺς στενωποὺς οἴνῳ πολλῷ ῥαίνωσι. τοῦτο συχνάκις γενόμενον—οὐ γὰρ ἠμέλησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες—ἔπαυσε μηκέτι λοιμώττειν αὐτούς, εἴτε ἀτμούς τινας πονηροὺς ὁ οἶνος σβέσας τῇ ὀδμῇ, εἴτε ἄλλο τι πλέον εἰδὼς ὁ ἥρως ὁ Τόξαρις, ἅτε ἰατρικὸς ὤν, συνεβούλευσεν. ὁ δ᾿ οὖν μισθὸς τῆς ἰάσεως ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποδίδοται αὐτῷ λευκὸς ἵππος καταθυόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι, ὅθεν ἔδειξεν ἡ Δειμαινέτη προσελθόντα αὐτὸν ἐντείλασθαι ἐκεῖνα τὰ περὶ τοῦ οἴνου· καὶ εὑρέθη κεῖθι ὁ Τόξαρις τεθαμμένος τῇ τε ἐπιγραφῇ γνωσθείς, εἰ καὶ μὴ πᾶσα ἔτι ἐφαίνετο, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ στήλῃ Σκύθης ἀνὴρ ἐγκεκόλαπτο, τῇ λαιᾷ μὲν τόξον ἔχων ἐντεταμένον, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ βιβλίον, ὡς ἐδόκει. ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἴδοις ἂν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ καὶ τὸ τόξον ὅλον καὶ τὸ βιβλίον· τὰ δὲ ἄνω τῆς στήλης καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὁ χρόνος ἤδη ἐλυμήνατό που· ἔστιν δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διπύλου, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ εἰς Ἀκαδημίαν ἀπιόντων, οὐ μέγα τὸ χῶμα καὶ ἡ στήλη χαμαί· πλὴν ἀλλ᾿ ἔστεπταί γε ἀεί, καί φασι πυρεταίνοντάς τινας ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι ἀπ᾿ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὰ τὸν Δί᾿ οὐδὲν ἄπιστον, ὃς ὅλην ποτὲ ἰάσατο τὴν πόλιν.

3 *Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὗπερ ἕνεκα ἐμνήσθην αὐτοῦ, ἔζη μὲν ἔτι ὁ Τόξαρις, ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις δὲ ἄρτι καταπεπλευκὼς ἀνῄει ἐκ Πειραιῶς, οἷα δὴ ξένος καὶ βάρβαρος οὐ μετρίως τεταραγμένος ἔτι τὴν γνώμην, πάντα ἀγνοῶν, ψοφοδεὴς πρὸς τὰ πολλά, οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι χρήσαιτο ἑαυτῷ· καὶ γὰρ συνίει*

Toxaris stood by her side and bade her tell the Athenians that they would be released from the grip of the plague if they sprinkled their alleyways liberally with wine. The Athenians took notice of what she told them and carried out frequent sprinklings with the result that the plague stopped—the smell of the wine may have dispersed some noxious vapours, or the hero Toxaris, being a medical man, may have had some other special knowledge when he gave his advice. In any case to this day payment for his cure is still offered to him—a white horse, sacrificed on his tomb. Dimaenete said he came from there when he gave her the instructions about the wine, and Toxaris was found buried there, being recognised by the inscription, though it was no longer all visible, and more especially by a carving of a Scythian on the pillar; in the figure's left hand was a strung bow, in his right what looked like a book; even now you may still see more than half of it, including all the bow and the book; the upper half of the pillar including the face has been worn away in the course of time; it is situated not far from the Dipylon, on the left as you go towards the Academy; the mound is quite small and the pillar lies on the ground; nevertheless it is always garlanded and the story is that the hero has cured several sufferers from fevers—this is not surprising indeed since he once cured the whole city.

My reason for mentioning the story was this: Toxaris was still alive when Anacharsis, who had recently put in at Piraeus, went up to Athens. A stranger and a foreigner he experienced considerable confusion of mind, for everything was strange and there were the many sounds which frightened him;

καταγελώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ὁρώντων ἐπὶ τῇ σκευῇ, καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον οὐδένα εὕρισκεν, καὶ ὅλως μετέμελεν αὐτῷ ἤδη τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ ἐδέδοκτο ἰδόντα μόνον τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπὶ πόδα εὐθὺς ὀπίσω χωρεῖν καὶ πλοίῳ ἐπιβάντα πλεῖν αὖθις ἐπὶ Βοσπόρου, ὅθεν οὐ πολλὴ ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ ὁδὸς ἔσεσθαι οἴκαδε ἐς Σκύθας. οὕτως ἔχοντι τῷ Ἀναχάρσιδι ἐντυγχάνει δαίμων τις ἀγαθὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ Τόξαρις ἤδη ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡ στολὴ αὐτὸν ἐπεσπάσατο πατριῶτις οὖσα, εἶτα μέντοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔμελλε καὶ αὐτὸν γνώσεσθαι τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν ἅτε γένους τοῦ δοκιμωτάτου ὄντα καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις Σκυθῶν. ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις δὲ πόθεν ἂν ἐκεῖνον ἔγνω ὁμοεθνῆ ὄντα, Ἑλληνιστὶ ἐσταλμένον, ἐν χρῷ κεκαρμένον [1] τὸ γένειον, ἄζωστον, ἀσίδηρον, ἤδη στωμύλον, αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἕνα τῶν αὐτοχθόνων; οὕτω μετεπεποίητο ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου.

4 *Ἀλλὰ Τόξαρις Σκυθιστὶ προσειπὼν αὐτόν, Οὐ σύ, ἔφη, Ἀνάχαρσις ὢν τυγχάνεις ὁ Δαυκέτου; ἐδάκρυσεν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ὅτι καὶ ὁμόφωνον εὑρήκει τινά, καὶ τοῦτον εἰδότα ὅστις ἦν ἐν Σκύθαις, καὶ ἤρετο, Σὺ δὲ πόθεν οἶσθα ἡμᾶς, ὦ ξένε; Καὶ αὐτός, ἔφη, ἐκεῖθέν εἰμι παρ' ὑμῶν, Τόξαρις τοὔνομα, οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ὥστε καὶ ἐγνῶσθαι ἄν σοι κατ' αὐτό. Μῶν, ἔφη, σὺ ὁ Τόξαρις εἶ περὶ οὗ ἐγὼ ἤκουσα ὥς τις Τόξαρις ἔρωτι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπολιπὼν καὶ γυναῖκα ἐν Σκυθίᾳ καὶ παιδία νεογνὰ οἴχοιτο ἐς Ἀθήνας καὶ νῦν διατρίβοι κεῖθι τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων; Ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἐκεῖνός εἰμι, εἴ τις κἀμοῦ λόγος ἔτι παρ' ὑμῖν. Οὐκοῦν, ἦ δ' ὃς ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, μαθητήν*

he did not know what to do with himself; he saw that people who saw him laughed at his dress; he met no one who spoke his language, and altogether he was already sorry he had made the trip. He decided just to see Athens and then immediately to retrace his steps and embark for the voyage back to the Bosporus, from where his journey home to Scythia would be quite short. While Anacharsis was in this frame of mind a good angel appeared to him when he was already in the Ceramicus, in fact it was Toxaris. Toxaris had been first attracted by the familiar cut of his Scythian dress and then was bound to recognise Anacharsis himself quite easily as he was of very noble stock and one of the leading men of Scythia. But Anacharsis had no means of recognising Toxaris as a fellow-countryman, with his Greek garb, his shaven chin, his lack of belt or sword, his fluency of speech—one of the real Attic aborigines; so much had time changed him.

Toxaris addressed him in Scythian. "Are you not perchance Anacharsis the son of Daucetas?" he asked. Anacharsis wept for joy at having found one who spoke his tongue and knew who he was back home in Scythia. "How is it that you know me, my friend?" he asked. "I myself am from your country. My name is Toxaris; no aristocrat, so you wouldn't recognise it." "Surely you're not the same Toxaris as the one who, as I heard, out of love for Greece left his wife and young children in Scythia and went to Athens and now spends his life there honoured by the men of rank?" "I am that man," he said, "if there is still some word of me at home." "Well," said Anacharsis, "you may know that I am

[1] So E: *ἐν χ. κ. ὑπεξυρημένον* Γ: *ὑπεξυρημένον* (om. *ἐν χ. κ.*) N.

σου ἴσθι με γεγενημένον καὶ ζηλωτὴν τοῦ ἔρωτος ὃν ἠράσθης, ἰδεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ κατά γε τὴν ἐμπορίαν ταύτην ἀποδημήσας. ἥκω σοι μυρία παθὼν ἐν τοῖς διὰ μέσου ἔθνεσιν, καὶ εἴ γε μὴ σοὶ ἐνέτυχον, ἔγνωστο ἤδη πρὶν ἥλιον δῦναι, ὀπίσω αὖθις ἐπὶ ναῦν κατιέναι· οὕτως ἐτεταράγμην ξένα καὶ ἄγνωστα πάντα ὁρῶν. ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἀκινάκου καὶ Ζαμόλξιδος, τῶν πατρῴων ἡμῖν θεῶν, σύ με, ὦ Τόξαρι, παραλαβὼν ξενάγησον καὶ δεῖξον τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν Ἀθήνησιν, εἶτα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι, νόμων τε τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ ἀνδρῶν τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ ἤθη καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ βίον αὐτῶν καὶ πολιτείαν, δι' ἅπερ σύ τε κἀγὼ μετὰ σὲ τοσαύτην ὁδὸν ἥκομεν, καὶ μὴ περιίδῃς ἀθέατον αὐτῶν ἀναστρέψοντα.

5 Τοῦτο μέν, ἔφη ὁ Τόξαρις, ἥκιστα ἐρωτικὸν εἴρηκας, ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτὰς ἐλθόντα οἴχεσθαι ἀπιόντα. πλὴν ἀλλὰ θάρρει. οὐ γὰρ ἄν, ὡς φής, ἀπέλθοις οὐδ' ἂν ἀφείη σε ῥᾳδίως ἡ πόλις· οὐχ οὕτως ὀλίγα τὰ θέλγητρα ἔχει πρὸς τοὺς ξένους, ἀλλὰ μάλα ἐπιλήψεταί σου, ὡς μήτε γυναικὸς ἔτι μήτε παίδων, εἴ σοι ἤδη εἰσί, μεμνῆσθαι. ὡς δ' ἂν τάχιστα πᾶσαν ἴδοις τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν,[1] μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὅλην καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων καλά, ἐγὼ ὑποθήσομαί σοι. ἔστι σοφὸς ἀνὴρ ἐνταῦθα, ἐπιχώριος μέν, ἀποδημήσας δὲ μάλα πολλὰ ἔς τε Ἀσίαν καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων συγγενόμενος, τὰ ἄλλα οὐ τῶν πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κομιδῇ πένης. ὄψει γέροντα οὕτω δημοτικῶς ἐσταλμένον. πλὴν διά

[1] τὴν τῶν Ἀθ. Kilburn: τὴν Ἀθ. ΓΜ: πόλιν τῶν Ἀθ. other MSS.

a disciple and a convert to your longing to see Greece. This was why I left home and came on this journey. My adventures among the peoples on the way have been past telling, and if I had not met you I should have gone back again to my ship before sunset as I had decided; I have been in such a state of confusion, with everything so strange and novel to my eyes. Now by our native gods Acinaces[1] and Zamolxis I ask you, Toxaris, to take me with you and be my guide and show me the best of what there is in Athens and then in the rest of Greece—their finest laws, their greatest men, their customs, assemblies, their way of life, their constitution. It was to see all this that you, and I after you, made our long journey. Do not let me go back without seeing it all."

"Your words," said Toxaris, "betray little affection if you mean to come to the very doors and then go back again. Cheer up now! You won't go away, in the way you suggest, and the city will not readily let you go: she has more charms than that to captivate the stranger. She will grip your heart so tightly that you will not remember wife or children, if you have any, any more. Now I'll show you the quickest way of seeing the whole city of Athens and more—all Greece and the glories of the Greek nation. There is a certain wise man in Athens. He is Athenian by birth but has travelled abroad widely to Asia and Egypt and has mixed with the cream of mankind. But for all that he is not one of the rich; actually he is quite poor. You'll see he is an old man dressed in very humble fashion. Nevertheless he is held in great honour for his wisdom and other qualities. As

[1] The Persian sword.

γε τὴν σοφίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν πάνυ τιμῶσιν αὐτόν, ὥστε καὶ νομοθέτῃ χρῶνται πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ ἀξιοῦσι κατὰ τὰ ἐκείνου προστάγματα βιοῦν. εἰ τοῦτον φίλον κτήσαιο καὶ μάθοις οἷος ἀνήρ ἐστι, πᾶσαν νόμιζε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχειν καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἤδη ἂν εἰδέναι τῶν τῇδε ἀγαθῶν· ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι ἂν μεῖζόν σοι καλὸν χαρίσασθαι δυναίμην ἢ συστήσας ἐκείνῳ.

6 Μὴ τοίνυν μέλλωμεν, ἔφη, ὦ Τόξαρι, ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἀλλά με λαβὼν ἄγε παρ' αὐτόν. ἀτὰρ ἐκεῖνο δέδια, μὴ δυσπρόσοδος καὶ ἐν παρέργῳ θῆταί σου τὴν ἔντευξιν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. Εὐφήμει, ἦ δ' ὅς, ἐκείνῳ τὰ μέγιστα χαριεῖσθαί μοι δοκῶ ἀφορμὴν παρασχὼν τῆς ἐς ξένον ἄνδρα εὐποιίας. ἕπου μόνον· εἴσῃ γὰρ ὅσῃ πρὸς τὸν Ξένιον ἡ αἰδὼς καὶ ἡ ἄλλη ἐπιείκεια καὶ χρηστότης. μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ δαίμονα οὗτος αὐτὸς ἡμῖν πρόσεισιν, ὁ ἐπὶ συννοίας, ὁ λαλῶν ἑαυτῷ. καὶ ἅμα προσειπὼν τὸν Σόλωνα, Τοῦτό σοι, ἔφη, δῶρον μέγιστον ἥκω
7 ἄγων, ξένον ἄνδρα φιλίας δεόμενον. Σκύθης δέ ἐστι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εὐπατριδῶν, καὶ ὅμως τἀκεῖ πάντα ἀφεὶς ἥκει συνεσόμενος ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ὀψόμενος τῆς Ἑλλάδος, κἀγὼ ἐπίτομόν τινα ταύτην ἐξεῦρον αὐτῷ, ὅπως ῥᾷστα καὶ αὐτὸς μάθοι πάντα καὶ γνώριμος γένοιτο τοῖς ἀρίστοις· τοῦτο δ' ἦν σοὶ προσαγαγεῖν αὐτόν. εἰ τοίνυν ἐγὼ Σόλωνα οἶδα, οὕτω ποιήσεις καὶ προξενήσεις αὐτοῦ καὶ πολίτην γνήσιον ἀποφανεῖς τῆς Ἑλλάδος. καὶ ὅπερ σοι ἔφην μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν, ὦ Ἀνάχαρσι, πάντα ἑώρακας ἤδη Σόλωνα ἰδών· τοῦτο αἱ Ἀθῆναι, τοῦτο ἡ Ἑλλάς· οὐκέτι ξένος σύ γε, πάντες [1] σε ἴσασι, πάντες σε φιλοῦσι.

a result they employ him to frame laws for the government of the city and are resolved to live in accordance with his ordinances. Make him your friend, get to know what sort of man he is, and you will find all Greece in him, and know already the sum of her glories. I could do you no greater favour than to introduce you to him."

"Let us not delay then, Toxaris," said Anacharsis, "take me with you to him, though I'm afraid of one thing, that he may be difficult to approach and not consider your representations on my behalf as of any importance." "Hush now," replied Toxaris, "I fancy I shall be showing him a great kindness by giving him the chance to show good-will to a stranger. You just follow on. You'll see his reverence for Zeus the God of Strangers as well as his general goodness and kindness. Well, that's a piece of luck! Here he is coming in our direction, that fellow deep in thought, the one muttering to himself." He addressed Solon at once: "I've come," he said, "with the greatest of gifts for you, a stranger in need of your friendship. He is one of our Scythian nobility, but that hasn't prevented him from leaving all his possessions there to visit you men of Greece and to see the fairest things that Greece can offer. I've discovered a short way of enabling him to see everything easily in person and to become known to the cream of your nation: this was to bring him to you. If I know Solon, you'll do this and look after him and make him a true son of Greece. Anacharsis, as I told you just now, having seen Solon you have seen everything: here is Athens, here is Greece; you're no longer a stranger, everybody knows you, everybody

[1] σύ γε, πάντες Fritzsche: σύμπαντές MSS.

τηλικοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ κατὰ τὸν πρεσβύτην τοῦτον. ἁπάντων ἐπιλήσῃ τῶν ἐν Σκυθίᾳ συνὼν αὐτῷ. ἔχεις τῆς ἀποδημίας τὰ ἆθλα, τοῦ ἔρωτος τὸ τέλος. οὗτός σοι ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς κανών, τοῦτο δεῖγμα τῆς φιλοσοφίας τῆς Ἀττικῆς. οὕτω τοίνυν γίγνωσκε ὡς εὐδαιμονέστατος ὤν, ὃς συνέσῃ Σόλωνι καὶ φίλῳ χρήσῃ αὐτῷ.

8 Μακρὸν ἂν εἴη διηγήσασθαι, ὅπως μὲν ἥσθη ὁ Σόλων τῷ δώρῳ, οἷα δὲ εἶπεν, ὡς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν συνῆσαν, ὁ μὲν παιδεύων καὶ διδάσκων τὰ κάλλιστα, ὁ Σόλων, καὶ φίλον ἅπασι ποιῶν τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν καὶ προσάγων τοῖς Ἑλλήνων καλοῖς καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἐπιμελούμενος, ὅπως ἥδιστα διατρίψῃ[1] ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ὁ δὲ τεθηπὼς τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μηδὲ τὸν ἕτερον πόδα ἑκὼν εἶναι ἀπολειπόμενος. ὡς γοῦν ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ ὁ Τόξαρις, ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς τοῦ Σόλωνος ἅπαντα ἔγνω ἐν ἀκαρεῖ καὶ πᾶσιν ἦν γνώριμος καὶ ἐτιμᾶτο δι' ἐκεῖνον. οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν ἦν Σόλων ἐπαινῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τοῦτο ὡς νομοθέτῃ ἐπείθοντο καὶ ἐφίλουν οὓς ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάζοι καὶ ἐπίστευον ἀρίστους ἄνδρας εἶναι. τὰ τελευταῖα καὶ ἐμυήθη μόνος βαρβάρων Ἀνάχαρσις, δημοποίητος γενόμενος, εἰ χρὴ Θεοξένῳ πιστεύειν καὶ τοῦτο ἱστοροῦντι περὶ αὐτοῦ· καὶ οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ ἀνέστρεψεν οἶμαι ἐς Σκύθας, εἰ μὴ Σόλων ἀπέθανεν.

9 Βούλεσθε οὖν ἐπαγάγω ἤδη τῷ μύθῳ τὸ τέλος, ὡς μὴ ἀκέφαλος περινοστοίη; ὥρα γοῦν εἰδέναι οὗτινός μοι εἵνεκα ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις ἐκ Σκυθίας καὶ Τόξαρις τὰ νῦν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἥκετον ἔτι καὶ Σόλωνα γέροντα ἄνδρα ἐπαγομένω Ἀθήνηθεν.

[1] διατρίψῃ Graevius: διαπρέψῃ N: διαπρέψει Γ.

loves you. Such is the quality of this old man. In his company you will forget everything you left in Scythia. Here is the reward of your voyaging abroad, the end of your passionate longing. Here for you is the measure of Greece, here a specimen of Attic philosophy. Just realise how blessed you are to meet Solon, and to meet him as a friend."

It would be a long business to tell how Solon was pleased by the gift, what he said, and how they kept company afterwards, Solon, the educator, instilling the noblest lessons, making Anacharsis friends with everyone, introducing him to the noblest Greeks, and looking after him in every way, so that his time in Greece might pass most pleasantly, and Anacharsis, in admiration of Solon's wisdom, unwilling to leave his side for a moment. So just as Toxaris had promised him, from one person, Solon, he quickly learnt everything, became known to everyone, and won respect through him. For Solon's praise carried no small weight, and in this too men obeyed him as a lawgiver, and they made friends with those to whom he showed respect, accepting them as men of worth. In the end, if we are to believe Theoxenus, who tells this story as well about him, Anacharsis alone of barbarians was even initiated into the mysteries after being made an Athenian citizen; nor I fancy would he have returned to Scythia, had not Solon died.

Would you like me to complete my story so that it should not roam about in a headless condition? It's high time to find out what Anacharsis and Toxaris from Scythia are still doing here at this time in Macedon bringing old Solon with them from Athens.

φημὶ δὴ ὅμοιόν τι καὶ αὐτὸς παθεῖν τῷ Ἀναχάρσιδι—καὶ πρὸς Χαρίτων μὴ νεμεσήσητέ μοι τῆς εἰκόνος, εἰ βασιλικῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐμαυτὸν εἴκασα· βάρβαρος μὲν γὰρ κἀκεῖνος καὶ οὐδέν τι φαίης ἂν τοὺς Σύρους ἡμᾶς φαυλοτέρους εἶναι τῶν Σκυθῶν. ἀτὰρ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ βασιλικὸν εἰσποιῶ τἀμὰ ἐς τὴν ὁμοιότητα, κατ' ἐκεῖνα δέ. ὅτε γὰρ πρῶτον ἐπεδήμησα ὑμῶν τῇ πόλει, ἐξεπλάγην μὲν εὐθὺς ἰδὼν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τῶν ἐμπολιτευομένων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν καὶ λαμπρότητα πᾶσαν. ὥστε ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐτεθήπειν πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐξήρκουν τῷ θαύματι, οἷόν τι καὶ ὁ νησιώτης ἐκεῖνος νεανίσκος ἐπεπόνθει πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Μενελάου οἰκίαν. καὶ ἔμελλον οὕτω διατεθήσεσθαι τὴν γνώμην ἰδὼν πόλιν ἀκμάζουσαν ἀκμῇ τοσαύτῃ καὶ κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν ἐκεῖνον

ἀνθοῦσαν ἀγαθοῖς πᾶσιν οἷς θάλλει πόλις.

10 Οὕτω δὴ ἔχων ἐσκοπούμην ἤδη περὶ τῶν πρακτέων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δεῖξαι τῶν λόγων ὑμῖν πάλαι ἐδέδοκτο. τίσι γὰρ ἂν ἄλλοις ἔδειξα σιωπῇ παροδεύσας τηλικαύτην πόλιν; ἐζήτουν γάρ, οὐδὲ ἀποκρύψομαι τἀληθές, οἵτινες οἱ προὔχοντες εἶεν καὶ οἷς ἄν τις προσελθὼν καὶ ἐπιγραψάμενος προστάτας συναγωνισταῖς χρῷτο πρὸς τὰ ὅλα. ἐνταῦθά μοι οὐχ εἷς, ὥσπερ τῷ Ἀναχάρσιδι, καὶ οὗτος βάρβαρος, ὁ Τόξαρις, ἀλλὰ πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες τὰ αὐτὰ μόνον οὐ ταῖς [1] αὐταῖς συλλαβαῖς ἔλεγον· ὦ ξένε, πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι χρηστοὶ καὶ δεξιοὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀλλαχόθι τοσούτους εὕροις ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς, δύο δὲ μάλιστά ἐστον ἡμῖν ἄνδρε ἀρίστω, γένει μὲν

Well, my own situation is like that of Anacharsis—and please do not resent my likening myself to a man of regal stature, for he too was a barbarian, and no one could say that we Syrians are inferior to Scythians. It isn't on grounds of royalty that I compare my situation with his, but rather because we are both barbarians. For when I first came to live in your city, I was utterly terrified as soon as I saw its size, its beauty, its high population, its power and general splendour. For a long time I was struck with wonder at these things and could not take in the spectacle—just as when the young man from the islands [1] came to the house of Menelaus. How could I help feeling like this when I saw the city at such a peak of excellence and, as the poet says,

> " Blossoming with all good things whereby a city flourisheth."

In this plight then I was already considering what steps I should take next. I had some time since decided to show you something of my oratory, for who else would deserve it if I had passed by such a city in silence? To tell the truth, I enquired who were the leading citizens and who might be approached and enlisted as patrons and general supporters. My case was better than that of Anacharsis—he had but one patron, Toxaris, and that one a barbarian, while I have many, and what is more they have all told me the same thing in about the same words: " There are many good and knowledgeable persons in our city, friend—nowhere else will you find such quality—, but we have two men of outstanding merit,

[1] Telemachus : Homer, *Od.* iv, 71.

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[1] ταῖς add. Jacobitz.

καὶ ἀξιώματι πολὺ προὔχοντε ἁπάντων, παιδείᾳ δὲ καὶ λόγων δυνάμει τῇ Ἀττικῇ δεκάδι παραβάλλοις ἄν. ἡ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου εὔνοια πάνυ ἐρωτικὴ πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ τουτὶ γίγνεται, ὅ τι ἂν οὗτοι ἐθέλωσιν. ἐθέλουσι γὰρ ὅ τι ἂν ἄριστον ᾖ τῇ πόλει. τὴν μὲν γὰρ χρηστότητα καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ξένους φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ τὸ ἐν μεγέθει τοσούτῳ ἀνεπίφθονον καὶ τὸ μετ' εὐνοίας αἰδέσιμον καὶ τὸ πρᾷον καὶ τὸ εὐπρόσοδον αὐτὸς ἂν ἄλλοις διηγήσαιο πειραθεὶς μικρὸν ὕστερον.

11 Καὶ ὡς μᾶλλον θαυμάσῃς, μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς οἰκίας ἐστόν, υἱὸς καὶ πατήρ, ὁ μέν, εἴ τινα Σόλωνα ἢ Περικλέα ἢ Ἀριστείδην ἐπινοεῖς, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς καὶ ὀφθεὶς μὲν αὐτίκα ἐπάξεταί[1] σε, οὕτω μέγας ἐστὶ καὶ καλὸς ἀρρενωπήν τινα τὴν εὐμορφίαν· εἰ δὲ καὶ φθέγξαιτο μόνον, οἰχήσεταί σε ἀπὸ τῶν ὤτων ἀναδησάμενος, τοσαύτην Ἀφροδίτην ἐπὶ τῇ γλώττῃ ὁ νεανίσκος ἔχει. ἥ γέ τοι πόλις ἅπασα κεχηνότες αὐτοῦ ἀκούουσιν, ὁπόταν δημηγορήσων παρέλθῃ, ὁποῖόν φασι τοὺς τότε Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Κλεινίου πεπονθέναι, παρ' ὅσον τοῖς μὲν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν μετεμέλησε τοῦ ἔρωτος, ὃν ἠράσθησαν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, τοῦτον δὲ ἡ πόλις οὐ φιλεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰδεῖσθαι ἤδη ἀξιοῖ, καὶ ὅλως ἓν τοῦτο ἡμῖν δημόσιον ἀγαθόν ἐστιν καὶ μέγα ὄφελος ἅπασιν, ἀνὴρ οὗτος. εἰ δὴ αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ δέξαιντό σε καὶ φίλον ποιήσαιντο, πᾶσαν ἔχεις τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐπισεῖσαι χρὴ τὴν[2] χεῖρα, τοῦτο μόνον, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἐνδοιάσιμα τὰ σά. ταῦτα νὴ τὸν Δί' ἅπαντες

[1] ἐπάξεταί Valcken and Dobree : ἀπάξεταί MSS.
[2] χρὴ τὴν ΓΝ : χρηστὴν Ε Ω.

pre-eminent in birth and reputation, and in culture and oratorical power comparable to the Ten Attic Orators. They enjoy the devoted respect of the people, and their word is law. They wish whatever is best for the city. Their goodness, their kindness towards strangers, their freedom from censure, eminent though they be, their kindly courtesy, their gentleness and ease of access, these qualities you yourself will tell to others when you have presently made trial of them.

"To excite your wonder still more, they belong to one and the same household. They are in fact father and son. The father you may imagine to be a Solon, a Pericles, or an Aristides, while the son will win your heart as soon as you see him, so tall is he and handsome with his manly grace; and let him but speak and he will leave you with your ears enchained, such charm is there in the young man's tongue. Whenever he comes forward to speak in public the entire city listen to him open-mouthed—it is the story of the Athenians and the son of Clinias over again with this difference: the Athenians quite soon repented of their affection for Alcibiades, while here there is not only love for the young man but a ready reverence already and in short the well-being and happiness of our state are summed up in this one man. If he and his father were to take you in and make you their friend, then the whole city is yours. Let them but lift a finger and any doubts you may have will be no more." This by Zeus (if I must

ἔλεγον (εἰ χρὴ καὶ ὅρκον ἐπάγειν τῷ λόγῳ), καί μοι ἤδη πειρωμένῳ τὸ πολλοστὸν τῶν προσόντων εἰρηκέναι ἔδοξαν.[1] *“οὐχ ἕδρας τοίνυν οὐδ' ἀμβολᾶς ἔργον,” ὡς ὁ* Κεῖός *φησιν, ἀλλὰ χρὴ πάντα μὲν κάλων κινεῖν, πάντα δὲ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν, ὡς φίλοι ἡμῖν τοιοῦτοι γένοιντο· ἢν γὰρ τοῦτο ὑπάρξῃ, εὔδια πάντα καὶ πλοῦς οὔριος καὶ λειοκύμων ἡ θάλαττα καὶ ὁ λιμὴν πλησίον.*

[1] ἔδοξαν Graevius: ἔδοξα MSS.

swear to it) is what all told me, and by my experience already it is clear that they told me but a fraction of the truth. "Then sit no more and brook no more delay," as the Ceian[1] says. No, I must pull every rope, do and say everything to make such men my friends; if that is once attained, then ahead there is nothing but calm weather, a fair wind, a sea barely rippling, and a harbour near at hand.

[1] Bacchylides. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, iii, p. 123.

HERMOTIMUS OR CONCERNING THE SECTS

Lucian's longest work and his most sustained attack on the philosophical schools. Hermotimus, a keen pupil of the Stoic school, is put through the mill of a Socratic inquisition on the subject of his motives and expectations in attending the school. The Sceptic wins and Hermotimus resolves to put aside his philosophical pretensions and enjoy the best way of living—that of the ordinary man.

Although on the whole an interesting presentation of the Sceptic's skill at undermining the structure of philosophical idealism, the flow of the dialogue is marred for the modern reader by passages where the obvious is laboured at inordinate length.

For Lucian's respect for the life of the ordinary man see also his *Menippus* (*Loeb*, vol. IV, pp. 71 ff.).

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΑΙΡΕΣΕΩΝ

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

1 Ὅσον, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, τῷ βιβλίῳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ βαδίσματος σπουδῇ τεκμήρασθαι, παρὰ τὸν διδάσκαλον ἐπειγομένῳ ἔοικας. ἐνενόεις γοῦν τι μεταξὺ προϊὼν καὶ τὰ χείλη διεσάλευες ἠρέμα ὑποτονθορύζων καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ὧδε κἀκεῖσε μετέφερες ὥσπερ τινὰ ῥῆσιν ἐπὶ ἑαυτοῦ διατιθέμενος, ἐρώτημα δή τι τῶν ἀγκύλων συντιθεὶς ἢ σκέμμα σοφιστικὸν ἀναφροντίζων, ὡς μηδὲ ὁδῷ βαδίζων σχολὴν ἄγοις, ἀλλ' ἐνεργὸς εἴης ἀεὶ σπουδαῖόν τι πράττων καὶ ὃ πρὸ ὁδοῦ σοι γένοιτ' ἂν ἐς τὰ μαθήματα.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Νὴ Δί', ὦ Λυκῖνε, τοιοῦτό τι· τὴν γὰρ χθιζὴν συνουσίαν καὶ ἃ εἶπε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀνεπεμπαζόμην ἐπιὼν τῇ μνήμῃ ἕκαστα. χρὴ δὲ μηδένα καιρὸν οἶμαι παριέναι εἰδότας ἀληθὲς ὂν τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κῴου ἰατροῦ εἰρημένον, ὡς ἄρα "βραχὺς μὲν ὁ βίος, μακρὴ δὲ ἡ τέχνη." καίτοι ἐκεῖνος ἰατρικῆς πέρι ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν, εὐμαθεστέρου πράγματος· φιλοσοφία δὲ καὶ μακρῷ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀνέφικτος, ἢν μὴ πάνυ τις ἐγρηγορὼς ἀτενὲς ἀεὶ καὶ γοργὸν ἀποβλέπῃ ἐς αὐτήν, καὶ τὸ κινδύνευμα οὐ περὶ μικρῶν—ἢ ἄθλιον εἶναι ἐν τῷ πολλῷ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν

[1] Hippocrates.

HERMOTIMUS OR CONCERNING THE SECTS

LYCINUS

To judge from your book, Hermotimus, and the speed of your walk, you seem to be hurrying to your teacher. You were certainly thinking something over as you went along; you were twitching your lips and muttering quietly, waving your hand this way and that as though you were arranging a speech to yourself, composing one of your crooked problems or thinking out some sophistical question; even when you are walking along you must not take it easy, but be always busy at some serious matter which is likely to help your studies.

HERMOTIMUS

Yes, certainly, that is about it, Lycinus; I was going over yesterday's lecture and what he said to us, running through the points in my mind. We must, I think, never lose an opportunity, for we know the truth of what the Coan Doctor [1] said: "Life is short, but Art is long." He was speaking of medicine of course, which is easier to learn; philosophy is unattainable even over a long period, unless you are very much awake all the time and keep a stern eye on her. The venture is for no mere trifle—whether to perish miserably in the vulgar rabble of

συρφετῷ παραπολόμενον ἢ εὐδαιμονῆσαι φιλοσοφήσαντα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

2 Τὰ *μὲν ἆθλα, ὦ* Ἑρμότιμε, *θαυμάσια ἡλίκα εἴρηκας. οἶμαί γε μὴν οὐ πόρρω σε εἶναι αὐτῶν, εἴ γε χρὴ εἰκάζειν τῷ τε χρόνῳ ὁπόσον φιλοσοφεῖς καὶ προσέτι τῷ πόνῳ οἷόν μοι οὐ μέτριον ἐκ πολλοῦ ἤδη ἔχειν δοκεῖς. εἰ γάρ τι μέμνημαι, σχεδὸν εἴκοσιν ἔτη ταῦτά ἐστιν ἀφ' οὗ σε οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιοῦντα ἑώρακα, ἢ παρὰ τοὺς διδασκάλους φοιτῶντα καὶ ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐς βιβλίον ἐπικεκυφότα καὶ ὑπομνήματα τῶν συνουσιῶν ἀπογραφόμενον, ὠχρὸν ἀεὶ ὑπὸ φροντίδων καὶ τὸ σῶμα κατεσκληκότα. δοκεῖς δέ μοι ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὄναρ ποτὲ ἀνιέναι σεαυτόν, οὕτως ὅλος εἶ ἐν τῷ πράγματι. ταῦτ' οὖν σκοπουμένῳ μοι φαίνῃ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐπιλήψεσθαι τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, εἴ γε μὴ λέληθας ἡμᾶς καὶ πάλαι αὐτῇ συνών.*

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Πόθεν, *ὦ* Λυκῖνε, *ὃς νῦν ἄρχομαι παρακύπτειν ἐς τὴν ὁδόν; ἡ δ'* Ἀρετὴ *πάνυ πόρρω κατὰ τὸν* Ἡσίοδον *οἰκεῖ καὶ ἔστιν ὁ οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτὴν μακρός τε καὶ ὄρθιος καὶ τρηχύς, ἱδρῶτα οὐκ ὀλίγον ἔχων τοῖς ὁδοιπόροις.*

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐχ *ἱκανὰ οὖν ἵδρωταί σοι, ὦ* Ἑρμότιμε, *καὶ ὡδοιπόρηται;*

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὔ, *φημί· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν* [1] *ἐκώλυέ με πανευδαίμονα εἶναι ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ γενόμενον. τὸ δὲ νῦν ἀρχόμεθα ἔτι, ὦ* Λυκῖνε.

the common herd or to find happiness through philosophy.

LYCINUS

That is a very wonderful prize, Hermotimus, and I fancy you are near winning it, to judge by the time you spend on your philosophical studies and also the considerable energy you seem to have devoted for so long. If I remember, it must be nigh on twenty years that I have seen you doing nothing but going to the teachers, and usually bent over a book and writing notes on the lectures, always pale and wasted with studying. I suppose even your dreams give you no rest, you are so wrapped up in it. So, when I consider this, I feel that you will not be long in reaching happiness, unless it has been your companion for years and we have missed seeing it.

HERMOTIMUS

How can that be, Lycinus? I am just beginning to get a glimpse of my way there. Virtue, says Hesiod,[1] lives far away, and the path to her is long and steep and rough, with plenty of sweat for travellers.

LYCINUS

Have you not sweated and travelled enough, Hermotimus?

HERMOTIMUS

No, I tell you. I couldn't be other than perfectly happy if I were at the top. At this moment I am still beginning, Lycinus.

[1] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 289.

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[1] ἂν add. Belinus.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

3 Ἀλλὰ τήν γε ἀρχὴν ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος Ἡσίοδος ἥμισυ τοῦ παντὸς ἔφη εἶναι, ὥστε κατὰ μέσην τὴν ἄνοδον ἤδη λέγοντες εἶναί σε οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοιμεν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐδέπω οὐδὲ τοῦτο. πάμπολυ γὰρ ἂν ἡμῖν ἤνυστο.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἀλλὰ ποῦ γάρ σε φῶμεν τῆς ὁδοῦ τυγχάνειν ὄντα;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἐν τῇ ὑπωρείᾳ κάτω ἔτι, ὦ Λυκῖνε, ἄρτι προβαίνειν βιαζόμενον. ὀλισθηρὰ δὲ καὶ τραχεῖα καὶ δεῖ χεῖρα ὀρέγοντος.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν ὁ διδάσκαλός σοι τοῦτο ἱκανὸς ποιῆσαι ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ ἄκρου καθάπερ ὁ τοῦ Ὁμήρου Ζεὺς χρυσῆν τινα σειρὰν καθιεὶς τοὺς αὑτοῦ λόγους, ὑφ' ὧν σε ἀνασπᾷ δηλαδὴ καὶ ἀνακουφίζει πρὸς αὑτόν τε καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτὸς πρὸ πολλοῦ ἀναβεβηκώς.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Αὐτὸ ἔφησθα, ὦ Λυκῖνε, τὸ γιγνόμενον. ὅσον γοῦν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ πάλαι ἀνεσπάσμην ἂν [1] καὶ συνῆν αὐτοῖς. τὸ δ' ἐμὸν ἔτι ἐνδεῖ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

4 Ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖν χρὴ καὶ θυμὸν ἔχειν ἀγαθὸν ἐς τὸ τέλος τῆς ὁδοῦ ὁρῶντα καὶ τὴν ἄνω εὐδαιμονίαν,

[1] ἂν Fritzsche: ἄνω MSS.

LYCINUS

But this same Hesiod says that the beginning is half-way there,[1] so that we should not wrong you if we said that you were half-way up.

HERMOTIMUS

No, not even that yet. That would be a great achievement.

LYCINUS

Well, where on the road may we put you?

HERMOTIMUS

Still down in the foothills, Lycinus, though lately struggling on. It is slippery and rough and needs a hand to help.

LYCINUS

Your teacher can do that: he can let down his own teaching from the top like Zeus's golden rope in Homer,[2] and clearly pull and lift you up to himself and Virtue. He made the climb long ago.

HERMOTIMUS

That is just what happens, Lycinus. As far as he is concerned I should have been pulled up long ago and been in their company. But my share still falls short.

LYCINUS

Be brave now and keep cheerful. Look to the end of the journey and the happiness up there, especially

[1] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 40.
[2] Homer, *Il.* viii, 19.

καὶ μάλιστα ἐκείνου ξυμπροθυμουμένου. πλὴν ἀλλὰ τίνα σοι ἐλπίδα ὑποφαίνει ὡς δὴ πότε ἀναβησομένῳ; εἰς νέωτα εἴκαζεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἔσεσθαί σε, οἷον μετὰ τὰ μυστήρια τὰ ἄλλα ἢ Παναθήναια;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ὀλίγον φής, ὦ Λυκῖνε.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἑξῆς ὀλυμπιάδα;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ τοῦτο ὀλίγον ὡς πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἄσκησιν καὶ εὐδαιμονίας κτῆσιν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Μετὰ δύο μὲν δὴ ὀλυμπιάδας πάντως; ἢ πολλήν γ' ἂν ὑμῶν ῥᾳθυμίαν καταγνοίη τις εἰ μηδ' ἐν τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ δύνασθε, ὅσον τρὶς ἀπὸ Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἀπελθεῖν εἶτ' ἐπανελθεῖν ῥᾴδιον, εἰ καὶ μὴ εὐθεῖαν μηδ' ἀεὶ βαδίζοι τις, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς διὰ μέσου ἔθνεσι περιπλανώμενος. καίτοι πόσῳ τινὶ βούλει ὑψηλοτέραν καὶ λισσοτέραν [1] θῶμεν εἶναι τὴν ἄκραν, ἐφ' ἧς ὑμῖν ἡ Ἀρετὴ οἰκεῖ, τῆς Ἀόρνου ἐκείνης, ἣν ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν Ἀλέξανδρος κατὰ κράτος εἷλεν;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

5 Οὐδὲν ὅμοιον, ὦ Λυκῖνε, οὐδ' ἔστι τὸ πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτον οἷον σὺ εἰκάζεις, ὡς ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κατεργασθῆναι καὶ ἁλῶναι, οὐδ' ἂν μυρίοι Ἀλέξανδροι προσβάλλωσιν. ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ ἂν οἱ ἀνιόντες ἦσαν. νῦν δὲ ἐνάρχονται μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι μάλα

since he is as keen as you are. But when does he suggest you may hope to come up? Did he suggest next year to reach the top—after the other Mysteries, say, or the Panathenaea?

HERMOTIMUS

Too soon, Lycinus.

LYCINUS

Next Olympiad, then?

HERMOTIMUS

Too soon again for a training in virtue and the winning of happiness.

LYCINUS

After two Olympiads, surely? Or shall we accuse you of excessive sloth, if you cannot succeed in all that time? You could easily make three journeys from Gibraltar to India and back in that time, even if you did not go straight without breaking your journey, but made excursions occasionally to visit the nations on the way. But this summit where your Virtue lives—how much higher and smoother are we to put it than Aornos which Alexander stormed in a few days?

HERMOTIMUS

Nothing like, Lycinus, Your comparison is wrong; it cannot be won or captured in a short time, even if innumerable Alexanders attack it. Many would climb it, if it could. As it is, a fair number make a very strong beginning and travel part of the way,

[1] λισσοτέραν E H Γ^2: διασοτέραν Γ^1N.

ἐρρωμένως καὶ προσέρχονται ἐπὶ ποσόν, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πάνυ ὀλίγον, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ πλέον· ἐπειδὰν δὲ κατὰ μέσην τὴν ὁδὸν γένωνται πολλοῖς τοῖς ἀπόροις καὶ δυσχερέσιν ἐντυγχάνοντες ἀποδυσπετοῦσί τε καὶ ἀναστρέφουσιν ἀσθμαίνοντες καὶ ἱδρῶτι ῥεόμενοι, οὐ φέροντες τὸν κάματον. ὅσοι δ' ἂν εἰς τέλος διακαρτερήσωσιν οὗτοι πρὸς τὸ ἄκρον ἀφικνοῦνται καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου εὐδαιμονοῦσιν θαυμάσιόν τινα βίον τὸν λοιπὸν βιοῦντες, οἷον μύρμηκας ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους ἐπισκοποῦντές τινας τοὺς ἄλλους.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Παπαῖ, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, ἡλίκους ἡμᾶς ἀποφαίνεις οὐδὲ κατὰ τοὺς Πυγμαίους ἐκείνους, ἀλλὰ χαμαιπετεῖς παντάπασιν[1] ἐν χρῷ τῆς γῆς. εἰκότως— ὑψηλὰ γὰρ ἤδη φρονεῖς καὶ ἄνωθεν· ἡμεῖς δὴ ὁ συρφετὸς καὶ ὅσοι χαμαὶ ἐρχόμενοι ἐσμέν, μετὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὑμᾶς προσευξόμεθα ὑπερνεφέλους γενομένους καὶ ἀνελθόντας οἷ πάλαι σπεύδετε.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Εἰ γὰρ γένοιτο καὶ ἀνελθεῖν, ὦ Λυκῖνε. ἀλλὰ πάμπολυ τὸ λοιπόν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

6 Ὅμως οὐκ ἔφησθα ὁπόσον, ὡς χρόνῳ περιλαβεῖν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐδ' αὐτὸς γὰρ οἶδα, ὦ Λυκῖνε, τἀκριβές. εἰκάζω μέντοι οὐ πλείω τῶν εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἔσεσθαι, μεθ' ἃ πάντως που ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ ἐσόμεθα.

some very little, some more; but when they get half-way and meet plenty of difficulties and snags, they lose heart and turn back, gasping for breath and dripping with sweat; the hardships are too much for them. But all who endure to the end arrive at the top, and from then on are happy having a wonderful time for the rest of their life, from their heights seeing the rest of mankind as ants.

LYCINUS

Goodness, Hermotimus! How small you make us, not as big as pygmies! Utter groundlings crawling over the earth's surface. It's not surprising—your mind is already away up above; and we, the whole trashy lot of us ground-crawlers, will pray to you along with the gods, when you get above the clouds and reach the heights to which you have been hastening for so long.

HERMOTIMUS

Oh, may I really get up there, Lycinus! But a great deal remains to be done.

LYCINUS

But you have not said how long, to give it a date.

HERMOTIMUS

I don't know myself exactly, Lycinus. Not more than twenty years at a guess. After that I shall surely be on the top.

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[1] *χαμαιπετεῖς παντάπασι* N: *χαμαὶ παντάπασιν* G: *χαμαὶ πάντα παθεῖν* other MSS.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἡράκλεις, πολὺ λέγεις.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ γὰρ περὶ μεγάλων, ὦ Λυκῖνε, οἱ πόνοι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τοῦτο μὲν ἴσως ἀληθές. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ὅτι βιώσῃ τοσαῦτα πότερον ὁ διδάσκαλός σου καθυπέσχετο, οὐ μόνον σοφός, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαντικὸς ὢν ἢ χρησμολόγος τις ἢ ὅσοι τὰς Χαλδαίων μεθόδους ἐπίστανται; φασὶ γοῦν εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ σέ γε εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδήλῳ, εἰ βιώσῃ μέχρι πρὸς τὴν ἀρετήν, τοσούτους πόνους ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν οὐκ εἰδότα εἴ σε πλησίον ἤδη τοῦ ἄκρου γενόμενον τὸ χρεὼν ἐπιστὰν κατασπάσει λαβόμενον τοῦ ποδὸς ἐξ ἀτελοῦς τῆς ἐλπίδος.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἄπαγε. δύσφημα γὰρ ταῦτα, ὦ Λυκῖνε. ἀλλ' εἴη βιῶναι ὡς μίαν γοῦν ἡμέραν εὐδαιμονήσω σοφὸς γενόμενος.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ ἱκανή σοι ἀντὶ τῶν τοσούτων καμάτων ἡ μία ἡμέρα;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἐμοὶ μὲν καὶ ἀκαριαῖον ὁπόσον ἱκανόν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

7 Τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄνω ὅτι εὐδαίμονα καὶ τοιαῦτα ὡς πάντα χρῆν ὑπομεῖναι δι' αὐτά πόθεν ἔχεις εἰδέναι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ αὐτός πω ἀνελήλυθας.

LYCINUS

Good Heavens! As long as that!

HERMOTIMUS

Yes, Lycinus; my struggles are for great prizes.

LYCINUS

Perhaps so. But those twenty years—has your teacher promised you that length of life? If he has he must be more than a wise man—a prophet, or an oracle-monger, or an expert in Chaldean lore, as well—they say that they know this sort of thing. For, if it is not certain that you will live to reach Virtue, it is quite unreasonable to take all this trouble and wear yourself out night and day, not knowing whether Fate as you near the top will come and pull you down by the foot with your hopes unfulfilled.

HERMOTIMUS

Away with you! That, Lycinus, is blasphemy. May I live to enjoy happiness through wisdom for just one day!

LYCINUS

Would that repay you for all your labours—just one day?

HERMOTIMUS

For me even a moment is enough.

LYCINUS

How can you know that up there there is a happiness and the like worth enduring everything to attain? You yourself have not yet been up there, I suppose?

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἀλλὰ τῷ διδασκάλῳ πιστεύω λέγοντι. ὁ δὲ πάνυ οἶδεν ἅτε ἀκρότατος ἤδη ὤν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἔλεγε δὲ πρὸς θεῶν ποῖα τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἢ τίνα τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι τὴν ἐκεῖ; ἦ που τινὰ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν καὶ ἡδονὰς ἀνυπερβλήτους;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Εὐφήμει, ὦ ἑταῖρε. οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστι ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ βίον.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἀλλὰ τίνα φησὶ τἀγαθά εἰ μὴ ταῦτα ἕξειν πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἐλθόντας;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Σοφίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὸ καλὸν αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ πάντα ἐπίστασθαι βεβαίως πεπεισμένον ᾗ ἕκαστα ἔχει. πλούτους δὲ καὶ δόξας καὶ ἡδονὰς καὶ ὅσα τοῦ σώματος ταῦτα πάντα κάτω ἀφεῖκεν [1] καὶ ἀποδυσάμενος ἀνέρχεται, ὥσπερ φασὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐν τῇ Οἴτῃ κατακαυθέντα θεὸν γενέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀποβαλὼν ὁπόσον ἀνθρώπειον εἶχε παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ καθαρόν τε καὶ ἀκήρατον φέρων τὸ θεῖον ἀνέπτατο ἐς τοὺς θεοὺς διευκρινηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός. καὶ οὗτοι δὴ ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας ὥσπερ ὑπό τινος πυρὸς ἅπαντα ταῦτα περιαιρεθέντες ἃ τοῖς ἄλλοις θαυμαστὰ εἶναι δοκεῖ οὐκ ὀρθῶς δοξάζουσιν, ἀνελθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον εὐδαιμονοῦσι πλούτου καὶ δόξης καὶ

[1] ἀφεῖκεν Mras: ἀφηῖκεν? Γ: ἀφεὶς G: ἀφῆκε(ν) other MSS.

HERMOTIMUS

I believe what my teacher says. He is already right at the top and knows very well.

LYCINUS

What in Heaven's name did he say about conditions there? What did he say this happiness there was? Some sort of riches, I suppose, and glory, and pleasures beyond compare?

HERMOTIMUS

Hush, friend! These have nothing to do with the life in Virtue.

LYCINUS

If not these then, what does he say are the good things which those who complete their training will get?

HERMOTIMUS

Wisdom, courage, beauty itself, justice itself, the sure certainty of knowing everything as it really is. Riches and glories and pleasures and bodily things are all stripped off the climber and left down below before he makes his ascent. Think of the story of Heracles when he was burned and deified on Mount Oeta: he threw off the mortal part of him that came from his mother and flew up to heaven, taking the pure and unpolluted divine part with him, the part that the fire had separated off. So philosophy like a fire strips our climbers of all these things that the rest of mankind wrongly admires; they climb to the top and are happy; they never even remember

ἡδονῶν ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ μεμνημένοι ἔτι, καταγελῶντες δὲ τῶν οἰομένων ταῦτα εἶναι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

8 Νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, τὸν ἐν Οἴτῃ ἀνδρεῖα καὶ εὐδαίμονα λέγεις περὶ αὐτῶν. πλὴν ἀλλὰ τόδε μοι εἰπέ, καὶ κατέρχονταί ποτε ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας (ἢν ἐθελήσωσι) χρησόμενοι τοῖς κάτω ἃ καταλελοίπασιν; ἢ ἀνάγκη ἅπαξ ἀνελθόντας αὐτοὺς μένειν καὶ συνεῖναι τῇ ἀρετῇ πλούτου καὶ δόξης καὶ ἡδονῶν καταγελῶντας;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐ μόνον τοῦτο, ὦ Λυκῖνε, ἀλλ᾽ ὃς ἂν ἀποτελεσθῇ πρὸς ἀρετὴν οὔτε ὀργῇ οὔτε φόβῳ οὔτ᾽ ἐπιθυμίαις ὁ τοιοῦτος ἂν δουλεύοι [1] οὐδὲ λυποῖτο οὐδὲ ὅλως πάθος ἔτι τοιοῦτον πάθοι ἄν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μὴν εἴ γέ με δεῖ μηδὲν ὀκνήσαντα εἰπεῖν τἀληθές—ἀλλ᾽ εὐφημεῖν χρὴ οἶμαι μηδὲ ὅσιον εἶναι [2] ἐξετάζειν τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν σοφῶν γιγνόμενα.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Μηδαμῶς, ἀλλ᾽ εἰπὲ ὅ τι καὶ λέγεις.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ὅρα, ὦ ἑταῖρε, ὡς ἔγωγε καὶ πάνυ ὀκνῶ.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἀλλὰ μὴ ὄκνει, ὦ γενναῖε, πρός γε μόνον ἐμὲ λέγων.

[1] δουλεύοι Guyet: δουλεύσοι G: δουλεύσῃ M: δουλεύῃ other MSS.

wealth and glory and pleasures any more, and they laugh at those who believe them to be real.

LYCINUS

By Heracles on Oeta, Hermotimus, you tell a brave and happy tale about them! But tell me this: do they ever come down from their hill-top (if that is their wish), to make use of what they have left down here below? Or must they stay there once they are up and live in Virtue's company, laughing at wealth and glory and pleasures?

HERMOTIMUS

That is not all, Lycinus. A man who is perfected in Virtue can never be a slave to anger or fear or lusts; he will not know grief and in short he will not experience feelings of this sort any longer.

LYCINUS

Well, if I must speak the truth without fear—but I had better keep quiet, I suppose; it would not be pious to question what wise men do.

HERMOTIMUS

Not at all. Please say what you mean.

LYCINUS

Look, friend, how afraid I am!

HERMOTIMUS

Don't be afraid, good Lycinus. You are speaking to me alone.

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[2] ᾗ Γ: εἶναι N.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

9 Τὰ μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλα, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, διηγουμένῳ σοι παρειπόμην καὶ ἐπίστευον οὕτως ἔχειν, σοφούς τε γίγνεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνδρείους καὶ δικαίους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα· καί πως ἐκηλούμην πρὸς τὸν λόγον. ὁπότε δὲ καὶ πλούτου ἔφησθα καταφρονεῖν σφᾶς καὶ δόξης καὶ ἡδονῶν καὶ μήτε ὀργίζεσθαι μήτε λυπεῖσθαι, πάνυ ἐνταῦθα (μόνω γάρ ἐσμεν) ἐπέστην ἀναμνησθεὶς ἃ πρῴην εἶδον ποιοῦντα—βούλει φῶ τίνα; ἢ ἱκανὸν καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ὀνόματος;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Μηδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὲ ὅστις ἦν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Διδάσκαλος αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ σός—ἀνὴρ τά τε ἄλλα αἰδοῦς ἄξιος καὶ γέρων ἤδη ἐς τὸ ὕστατον.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τί οὖν δὴ ἐποίει;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τὸν ξένον οἶσθα τὸν Ἡρακλεώτην ὃς ἐκ πολλοῦ συνεφιλοσόφει αὐτῷ μαθητὴς ὤν, τὸν ξανθόν, τὸν ἐριστικόν;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οἶδα ὃν λέγεις· Δίων αὐτῷ τοὔνομα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἐκεῖνον αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ τὸν μισθὸν οἶμαι μὴ ἀπεδίδου κατὰ καιρόν, ἀπήγαγε παρὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα ἔναγχος περιθείς γε αὐτῷ θοἰμάτιον περὶ τὸν

LYCINUS

Well, I followed and believed most of what you said, Hermotimus, that they become wise and brave and just and so on; in a way your description held me in a sort of spell. But when you said they despised riches and glory and pleasures and were not angry or grieved, there (we are alone) I came to a stop. I remembered something I saw a certain person doing the other day—shall I name him? Or is it enough to leave him anonymous?

HERMOTIMUS

Not at all. Please tell me who he was.

LYCINUS

This very teacher of yours—in general he deserves respect and is now quite old.

HERMOTIMUS

What was he doing?

LYCINUS

You know the stranger from Heraclea who has studied philosophy under him a long time, the one with yellow hair, a quarrelsome fellow?

HERMOTIMUS

I know the man you mean. He's called Dion.

LYCINUS

That is the man. Well! it seems he didn't pay his fee on time, and the other day your teacher in a temper pulled the man's cloak round his neck and

τράχηλον καὶ ἐβόα καὶ ὠργίζετο, καὶ εἰ μὴ τῶν συνήθων τινὲς ἐν μέσῳ γενόμενοι ἀφείλοντο τὸν νεανίσκον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, εὖ ἴσθι προσφὺς ἂν ἀπέτραγεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ῥῖνα ὁ γέρων, οὕτως ἠγανάκτει.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

10 Πονηρὸς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀεὶ καὶ ἀγνώμων, ὦ Λυκῖνε, περὶ τὰς ἀποδόσεις· ἐπεὶ τούς γε ἄλλους οἷς δανείζει πολλοὺς ὄντας οὐδὲν τοιοῦτό πω διατέθεικεν. ἀποδιδόασι γὰρ αὐτῷ κατὰ καιρὸν τοὺς τόκους.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τί δε, ἂν μὴ ἀποδιδῶσιν, ὦ μακάριε, μέλει τι αὐτῷ καθαρθέντι ἤδη ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας καὶ μηκέτι τῶν ἐν τῇ Οἴτῃ καταλελειμμένων δεομένῳ;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οἴει γὰρ ὅτι ἑαυτοῦ χάριν ἐκεῖνος περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσπούδακεν; ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐτῷ παιδία νεογνὰ ὧν κήδεται μὴ ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καταβιώσωσι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Δέον, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, ἀναγαγεῖν κἀκεῖνα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετήν, ὡς συνευδαιμονοῖεν αὐτῷ πλούτου καταφρονοῦντες.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

11 Οὐ σχολή μοι, ὦ Λυκῖνε, περὶ τούτων διαλέγεσθαί σοι· σπεύδω γὰρ ἤδη ἀκροάσασθαι αὐτοῦ, μὴ καὶ λάθω τελέως ἀπολειφθείς.

shouted and dragged him off to the magistrate. If some friends of the young fellow had not come between them and pulled him from his grasp, the old man would certainly have taken hold of him and bitten his nose off, he was so angry.

HERMOTIMUS

That fellow has always been a senseless rogue when it comes to paying his debts, Lycinus. My master has never yet treated any of the others to whom he lends money like that and there are many of them. But they pay the interest on time.

LYCINUS

And if they don't, my dear Hermotimus? Does it matter, when he is now already purified by philosophy and no longer needs what he has left behind on Oeta?

HERMOTIMUS

Do you think it is for himself that he has made this fuss? No, he has young children and he is concerned lest they spend their lives in want.

LYCINUS

He ought, Hermotimus, to lead them too up the path to Virtue, so that they can despise wealth and be happy with him.

HERMOTIMUS

I haven't time, Lycinus, to talk with you about this; I'm in a hurry to hear his lecture, or I may be left completely behind before I know it.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Θάρρει, ὦγαθέ. τὸ τήμερον γὰρ ἐκεχειρία ἐπήγγελται. ὥστε ἐγὼ ἀφίημί σοι ὅσον ἔτι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Πῶς λέγεις;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ὅτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ἂν ἴδοις αὐτόν, εἴ γε χρὴ πιστεύειν τῷ προγράμματι. πινάκιον γάρ τι ἐκρέματο ὑπὲρ τοῦ πυλῶνος μεγάλοις γράμμασι λέγον "Τήμερον οὐ συμφιλοσοφεῖν." ἐλέγετο δὲ παρ' Εὐκράτει τῷ πάνυ δειπνήσας χθὲς γενέθλια θυγατρὸς ἑστιῶντι πολλά τε συμφιλοσοφῆσαι ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ καὶ πρὸς Εὐθύδημον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου παροξυνθῆναί τι καὶ ἀμφισβητῆσαι αὐτῷ περὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνοι εἰώθασιν ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς. ὑπό τε οὖν τῆς κραυγῆς πονήρως τὴν κεφαλὴν διατεθῆναι καὶ ἱδρῶσαι μάλα πολλὰ ἐς μέσας νύκτας ἀποταθείσης, ὥς φασι, τῆς συνουσίας. ἅμα δὲ καὶ πεπώκει οἶμαι πλέον τοῦ ἱκανοῦ τῶν παρόντων ὡς εἰκός φιλοτησίας προπινόντων καὶ ἐδεδειπνήκει πλέον ἢ κατὰ γέροντα· ὥστε ἀναστρέψας ἤμεσέ τε ὡς ἔφασκον πολλὰ καὶ μόνον ἀριθμῷ παραλαβὼν τὰ κρέα ὁπόσα τῷ παιδὶ κατόπιν ἑστῶτι παραδεδώκει καὶ σημηνάμενος ἐπιμελῶς τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου καθεύδει μηδένα εἰσδέχεσθαι παραγγείλας. ταῦτα δὲ Μίδα ἤκουσα τοῦ οἰκέτου αὐτοῦ διηγουμένου τισὶ τῶν μαθητῶν, οἳ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέστρεφον μάλα πολλοί.

LYCINUS

Cheer up, old man! A truce has been proclaimed today. I can save you what still remains of your journey.

HERMOTIMUS

What do you mean?

LYCINUS

That you won't find him now, if we can believe the notice; a little board was hanging on the gate with "No Philosophy Lecture Today" on it in large letters. They said that he had dinner yesterday at the house of the great Eucrates, who was throwing a party for his daughter's birthday. He talked a lot of philosophy during the party and grew cross with Euthydemus the Peripatetic, disputing their usual arguments against the Stoics. The party, they say, stretched out till midnight and the din brought on a wretched headache and made him sweat a good deal. At the same time he had drunk too much, I fancy, in the general toasting and had dined too well for his age; so when he got back home, it was said, he was very sick. He waited only to count carefully and lock up the pieces of meat he had given to the servant who had stood behind him at table, and has been sleeping ever since, having given orders to let no one in. I heard his servant Midas telling this to some of his pupils who were themselves just coming away, quite a crowd.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

12 Ἐκράτησε δὲ πότερος, ὦ Λυκῖνε, ὁ διδάσκαλος ἢ ὁ Εὐθύδημος; εἴ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἔλεγεν ὁ Μίδας.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τὰ μὲν πρῶτά φασιν, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, ἀγχώμαλα σφίσι γενέσθαι, τὸ δ' οὖν τέλος τῆς νίκης καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐγένετο καὶ παρὰ πολὺ ὁ πρεσβύτης ὑπερέσχε. τὸν γοῦν Εὐθύδημον οὐδὲ ἀναιμωτί φασιν ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τραῦμα παμμέγεθες ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀλαζὼν ἦν καὶ ἐλεγκτικὸς καὶ πείθεσθαι οὐκ ἤθελεν οὐδὲ παρεῖχε ῥᾳδιον αὑτὸν ἐλέγχεσθαι, ὁ διδάσκαλός σου ὁ βέλτιστος ὃν εἶχε σκύφον Νεστόρειόν τινα καταφέρει αὐτοῦ πλησίον κατακειμένου, καὶ οὕτως ἐκράτησεν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Εὖ γε. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλως ἐχρῆν πρὸς τοὺς μὴ ἐθέλοντας εἴκειν τοῖς κρείττοσιν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ταυτὶ μέν, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, πάνυ εὔλογα. ἢ τί γὰρ παθὼν Εὐθύδημος ἄνδρα γέροντα παρώξυνεν ἀόργητον καὶ θυμοῦ κρείττονα, σκύφον οὕτω
13 βαρὺν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχοντα; ἀλλά, σχολὴν γὰρ ἄγομεν, τί οὐ διηγῇ μοι ἑταίρῳ ὄντι ὃν τρόπον ὡρμήθης τὸ πρῶτον φιλοσοφεῖν, ὡς καὶ αὐτός, εἰ δυνατὸν ἔτι, συνοδοιποροίην ὑμῖν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἀρξάμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἀποκλείσετέ με δηλαδὴ φίλοι ὄντες.

HERMOTIMUS

Who won the argument, Lycinus, my teacher or Euthydemus? Did Midas say anything to this effect?

LYCINUS

At first, it seems, they were level, but in the end victory was on the side of you Stoics, and the old man was well in front. At any rate they say that Euthydemus didn't get away unscathed: he was badly wounded in the head. You see he was pretentious and argumentative and wouldn't be convinced and didn't show himself ready to take criticism, so your excellent teacher hit him with a cup as big as Nestor's [1] which he had in his hand (he was lying quite near him), and so he won.

HERMOTIMUS

Well done! That's just how to treat those who won't give way to their betters!

LYCINUS

Very reasonable, Hermotimus. What possessed Euthydemus to irritate an old man so placid and a master of his temper, who had such a heavy cup in his hand? But now we have time to spare why don't you tell a friend how you first took up philosophy? I myself, if it is still possible, could then begin there and join you all on the road. You are my friends and of course won't shut me out.

[1] For Nestor's cup, see Homer, *Il.* xi, 636.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσειας, ὦ Λυκῖνε· ὄψει ἐν βραχεῖ ὅσον διοίσεις τῶν ἄλλων. παῖδας εὖ ἴσθι οἰήσῃ ἅπαντας ὡς πρὸς σέ, τοσοῦτον ὑπερφρονήσεις αὐτός.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἱκανόν, εἰ μετὰ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γενέσθαι οἷός τε εἴην [1] τοιοῦτος οἷος σὺ νῦν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἀμέλει. καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ σὲ γεγονὼς ἠρξάμην φιλοσοφεῖν τετταρακοντούτης σχεδόν—ὁπόσα οἶμαι σὺ νῦν γέγονας.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τοσαῦτα γάρ, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε. ὥστε τὴν αὐτὴν ἄγε λαβὼν κἀμέ—δίκαιον γάρ. καὶ πρῶτόν γέ μοι τοῦτο εἰπέ· δίδοτε ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς μανθάνουσιν ἤν τι μὴ ὀρθῶς λέγεσθαι δοκῇ αὐτοῖς, ἢ οὐκ ἐφίετε τοῦτο τοῖς νεωτέροις;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐ πάνυ. σὺ δέ, ἤν τι βούλῃ, ἐρώτα μεταξὺ καὶ ἀντίλεγε. ῥᾷον γὰρ ἂν οὕτω μάθοις.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Εὖ γε—νὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, αὐτόν οὗ
14 ἐπώνυμος ὢν τυγχάνεις. ἀτὰρ εἰπέ μοι, μία τις ὁδός ἐστιν ἡ ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἄγουσα ἡ τῶν Στωϊκῶν ὑμῶν; ἢ ἀληθῆ ἐγὼ ἤκουον ὡς καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί τινές εἰσιν;

[1] γενέσθαι οἷός τε εἴην Mras: γενοίμην G C: γενέσθαι other MSS.

HERMOTIMUS

I wish you would, Lycinus! You will soon see how much better you will be than the rest of mankind. Children you will think them all, mere children compared with you with your intellect so superior.

LYCINUS

Good enough, if after twenty years I could be as you are now.

HERMOTIMUS

Don't worry. I myself was about your age when I began to study philosophy, about forty—as old as you are now I imagine.

LYCINUS

Exactly that, Hermotimus. So take and lead me too along the same path—that would be only right. First of all tell me this: do you allow learners to argue if they disagree with something, or is this not allowed to the young?

HERMOTIMUS

No, it is not allowed at all. But you, if you like, may ask questions and make criticisms as we go along. You will learn more easily that way.

LYCINUS

Good, Hermotimus—by Hermes who gives you your name. Now tell me, is there one way only to philosophy, the one you Stoics follow? I have heard there are many other schools as well. Is that right?

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Μάλα πολλοί—Περιπατητικοὶ καὶ Ἐπικούρειοι καὶ οἱ τὸν Πλάτωνα ἐπιγραφόμενοι, καὶ αὖ Διογένους ἄλλοι τινὲς καὶ Ἀντισθένους ζηλωταὶ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ ἔτι πλείους.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἀληθῆ ταῦτα· πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσι. πότερον δή, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, τὰ αὐτὰ οὗτοι λέγουσιν ἢ διάφορα;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ πάνυ διάφορα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τὸ δέ γε ἀληθὲς οἶμαι πάντως που ἓν ἦν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα διάφορά γε ὄντα.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

15 Ἴθι δή, ὦ φιλότης, ἀπόκριναί μοι· τῷ τότε πιστεύσας τὸ πρῶτον ὁπότε ᾔεις φιλοσοφήσων πολλῶν σοι θυρῶν ἀναπεπταμένων παρεὶς σὺ τὰς ἄλλας εἰς τὴν τῶν Στωϊκῶν ἧκες καὶ δι' ἐκείνης ἠξίους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν εἰσιέναι ὡς δὴ μόνης ἀληθοῦς οὔσης καὶ τὴν εὐθεῖαν ἐπιδεικνυούσης, τῶν δ' ἄλλων εἰς τυφλὰ καὶ ἀνέξοδα φερουσῶν; τίνι ταῦτ' ἐτεκμαίρου τότε; καὶ μή μοι τὸν νῦν δὴ τοῦτον σεαυτὸν ἐννόει, τὸν εἴτε ἡμίσοφον εἴτε σοφὸν ἤδη τὰ βελτίω κρίνειν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἡμᾶς δυνάμενον, ἀλλὰ οὕτως ἀπόκριναι ὁποῖος τότε ἦσθα ἰδιώτης καὶ κατὰ τὸν νῦν ἐμέ.

HERMOTIMUS

Very many—the Peripatetics, Epicureans, those who take Plato as their patron, others also, the devotees of Diogenes and Antisthenes, Pythagoreans, and more besides.

LYCINUS

True, there are many. Is what they say the same, Hermotimus, or different?

HERMOTIMUS

Quite different.

LYCINUS

At all events, one of their systems, I suppose, is true? They can't all be true if they differ.

HERMOTIMUS

No, they can't.

LYCINUS

Now be a true friend and tell me this: when you first set out to study philosophy, many doors were open to you; you passed by the others and came to the Stoic door; you deigned to enter through that door on the way to Virtue, thinking it the only true one which revealed the straight path; the rest led into blind alleys. Now what was your reason for this? What at that time made you certain? Please do not think of yourself as you are now, for, half-wise or wise, you can now make better judgments than most of us. Answer as the layman you then were and I am now.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐ συνίημι ὅ τι σοι τοῦτο βούλεται, ὦ Λυκῖνε.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μὴν οὐ πάνυ ἀγκύλον ἠρόμην. πολλῶν γὰρ ὄντων φιλοσόφων, οἷον Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Ἀντισθένους καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων προγόνων, τοῦ Χρυσίππου καὶ Ζήνωνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι εἰσιν, τῷ σὺ πιστεύσας τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἴας, ἐξ ἁπάντων δὲ προελόμενος ἅπερ προῄρησαι, ἀξιοῖς κατὰ ταῦτα φιλοσοφεῖν; ἆρα καὶ σὲ ὥσπερ τὸν Χαιρεφῶντα ὁ Πύθιος ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὰ Στωϊκῶν ἀρίστους ἐξ ἁπάντων προσειπών; ἔθος γὰρ αὐτῷ ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλο εἶδος φιλοσοφίας προτρέπειν τὴν ἁρμόττουσαν οἶμαι ἑκάστῳ εἰδότι.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον, ὦ Λυκῖνε, οὐδὲ ἠρόμην περί γε τούτων τὸν θεόν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Πότερον οὐκ ἄξιον θείας συμβουλίας ἡγούμενος αὐτὸ ἢ ἱκανὸς ᾤου αὐτὸς εἶναι ἑλέσθαι τὸ βέλτιον κατὰ σαυτὸν ἄνευ τοῦ θεοῦ;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ὤιμην γάρ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

16 Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς διδάσκοις ἂν τοῦτο πρῶτον, ὅπως διαγνωστέον ἡμῖν εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ, τίς ἡ ἀρίστη φιλοσοφία ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ ἀληθεύουσα καὶ ἣν ἄν τις ἕλοιτο παρεὶς τὰς ἄλλας.

HERMOTIMUS

I don't see your point, Lycinus.

LYCINUS

My question was not very complicated really. There have been many philosophers—Plato, Aristotle, Antisthenes, and your own predecessors, Chrysippus, Zeno, and the rest. Now, what persuaded you to leave the rest alone and choose to base your studies on the particular one you did? Did Apollo send you back from Delphi, like Chaerephon,[1] with his word that the Stoic school was best of all and you should go there? He has a habit of sending different people to different philosophies; he knows the one that suits each person best, I suppose.

HERMOTIMUS

It wasn't like that, Lycinus. I never even asked Apollo about it.

LYCINUS

Did you think it not worth consulting the god about, or did you think you could make the better choice on your own without his help?

HERMOTIMUS

I did think so.

LYCINUS

Well then, please teach me this first, how, right at the beginning, we can distinguish the best, the true philosophy, the one we must choose, leaving aside the others.

[1] Chaerephon asked the oracle who was the wisest mortal and he was directed to Socrates.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἐγώ σοι φράσω. ἑώρων τοὺς πλείστους ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁρμῶντας ὥστε εἴκαζον ἀμείνω εἶναι αὐτήν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Πόσῳ τινὶ πλείους τῶν Ἐπικουρείων ἢ Πλατωνικῶν ἢ Περιπατητικῶν; ἠρίθμησας γὰρ αὐτοὺς δηλαδὴ καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠρίθμησα ἔγωγε, εἴκαζον δέ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ὡς οὐκ ἐθέλεις διδάξαι με ἀλλ' ἐξαπατᾷς, ὃς περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εἰκασμῷ φῂς καὶ πλήθει κρῖναι ἀποκρυπτόμενος λέγειν πρός με τἀληθές.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐ μόνον τοῦτο, ὦ Λυκῖνε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἤκουον ἁπάντων λεγόντων ὡς οἱ μὲν Ἐπικούρειοι γλυκύθυμοι καὶ φιλήδονοί εἰσιν, οἱ Περιπατητικοὶ δὲ φιλόπλουτοι καὶ ἐριστικοί τινες, οἱ Πλατωνικοὶ δὲ τετύφωνται καὶ φιλόδοξοί εἰσι, περὶ δὲ τῶν Στωϊκῶν πολλοὶ ἔφασκον ὅτι ἀνδρώδεις καὶ πάντα γιγνώσκουσιν καὶ ὅτι ὁ ταύτην ἰὼν τὴν ὁδὸν μόνος βασιλεύς, μόνος πλούσιος, μόνος σοφὸς καὶ συνόλως ἅπαντα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

17 Ἔλεγον δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς σὲ ἄλλοι δηλαδὴ περὶ αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνοις ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐπίστευσας ἐπαινοῦσι τὰ αὐτῶν.

HERMOTIMUS

I will tell you. I saw that most people took to this one, so I guessed it was the best.

LYCINUS

How many more Stoics are there than Epicureans or Platonists or Peripatetics? You obviously took a count of them as in a show of hands.

HERMOTIMUS

I didn't count. I made an estimate.

LYCINUS

So you are not prepared to teach me. You are cheating when you tell me you decide such a matter by guesswork and weight of numbers. You're hiding the truth from me.

HERMOTIMUS

It wasn't just that, Lycinus. I also heard everybody saying that the Epicureans were sensual and lovers of pleasure, that the Peripatetics loved riches and wrangling, and that the Platonists were puffed up and loved glory. But a lot of people said that the Stoics were manly and understood everything and that the man who went this way was the only king, the only rich man, the only wise man, and everything rolled into one.

LYCINUS

These were obviously other people's opinions on the schools. You wouldn't have simply believed the respective adherents when they praised their own schools.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἄλλοι ἔλεγον.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀντίδοξοι οὐκ ἔλεγον ὡς τὸ εἰκός.[1]

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐ γάρ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οἱ δ' ἄρα ἰδιῶται ταῦτα ἔλεγον.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ὁρᾷς ὅπως αὖθις ἐξαπατᾷς με καὶ οὐ λέγεις τἀληθές. ἀλλ' οἴει Μαργίτῃ διαλέγεσθαί τινι, ὡς πιστεῦσαι ὅτι Ἑρμότιμος, ἀνὴρ συνετός, ἔτη τότε γεγονὼς τετταράκοντα, περὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἐπίστευσεν καὶ κατὰ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνων λεγόμενα ἐποιεῖτο τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν κρειττόνων. ἀξιῶ οὐ γὰρ πιστεῦσαί σοι[2] τοιαῦτα λέγοντι.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

18 Ἀλλ' οἶσθα, ὦ Λυκῖνε, οὐχὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μόνον ἐπίστευον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμαυτῷ. ἑώρων γὰρ αὐτοὺς κοσμίως βαδίζοντας, ἀναβεβλημένους εὐσταλῶς, φροντίζοντας ἀεί, ἀρρενωπούς, ἐν χρῷ κουρίας τοὺς πλείστους, οὐδὲν ἁβρὸν οὐδ' αὖ πάνυ ἐς τὸ ἀδιάφορον ὑπερεκπῖπτον ὡς ἔκπληκτον εἶναι καὶ

[1] After ὡς τὸ εἰκός MSS. have οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοσοφοῦντες: del. Solanus.

[2] So Fritzsche: κρειττόνων ἀξίων. οὐ γὰρ πιστεῦσαί σοι (πιστεῦσαί τι G) MSS.

HERMOTIMUS

Certainly not; these were other people's opinions.

LYCINUS

Not their rivals' opinions, I suppose?

HERMOTIMUS

No.

LYCINUS

Laymen's opinions?

HERMOTIMUS

Yes.

LYCINUS

You see how once again you are cheating me and not telling the truth. You think you are talking with some Margites [1] who is ready to believe that Hermotimus, an intelligent man forty years of age, on philosophy and philosophers believed the opinions of laymen and made his choice of the better creed accordingly. I refuse to believe you when you say things like that.

HERMOTIMUS

But you know, Lycinus, I did rely on myself as well as others. I used to see the Stoics walking with dignity, decently dressed, always thoughtful, manly in looks, most of them close-cropped; there was nothing effeminate, none of that exaggerated indifference which stamps the genuine crazy Cynic.

[1] A proverbial fool, the hero of a comic epic attributed to Homer.

κυνικὸν ἀτεχνῶς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου καταστήματος, ὃ δὴ ἄριστον ἅπαντες εἶναί φασιν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἆρ' οὖν κἀκεῖνα εἶδες ποιοῦντας αὐτοὺς ἃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἔλεγον αὐτὸς ἑωρακέναι τὸν σὸν διδάσκαλον, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, πράττοντα; οἷον δανείζοντας καὶ ἀπαιτοῦντας πικρῶς καὶ φιλονείκως πάνυ ἐρίζοντας ἐν ταῖς ξυνουσίαις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐπιδείκνυνται; ἢ τούτων ὀλίγον σοι μέλει, ἄχρι ἂν εὐσταλὴς ἡ ἀναβολὴ καὶ ὁ πώγων βαθὺς καὶ ἐν χρῷ ἡ κουρά; καὶ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρα ἔχωμεν τουτονὶ κανόνα καὶ στάθμην ἀκριβῆ τῶν τοιούτων, ὡς Ἑρμότιμός φησι, καὶ χρὴ ἀπὸ σχημάτων καὶ βαδισμάτων καὶ κουρᾶς διαγιγνώσκειν τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὃς δ' ἂν μὴ ἔχῃ ταῦτα μηδὲ σκυθρωπὸς ᾖ καὶ φροντιστικὸς τὸ πρόσωπον, ἀποδοκιμαστέος
19 καὶ ἀποβλητέος; ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ καὶ ταῦτα, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, παίζεις πρός με πειρώμενος εἰ ἐξαπατώμενος συνίημι.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Διὰ τί τοῦτ' ἔφησθα;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ὅτι, ὦγαθέ, ἀνδριάντων ταύτην ἐξέτασιν λέγεις τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν σχημάτων. παρὰ πολὺ γοῦν ἐκεῖνοι εὐσχημονέστεροι καὶ τὰς ἀναβολὰς κοσμιώτεροι, Φειδίου τινὸς ἢ Ἀλκαμένους ἢ Μύρωνος πρὸς τὸ εὐμορφότατον εἰκάσαντος. εἰ δὲ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα χρὴ τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς τοιούτοις, τί ἂν πάθοι τις, εἰ τυφλὸς ὢν ἐπιθυμοίη φιλοσοφεῖν; τῷ διαγνῷ τὸν τὴν ἀμείνω προαίρεσιν προῃρημένον οὔτε σχῆμα οὔτε βάδισμα ὁρᾶν δυνάμενος;

They seemed in a state of moderation and everyone says that is best.

LYCINUS

Did you see them behaving also as I said just now I saw your master behaving, Hermotimus? I mean lending money and making bitter demands to be repaid, quarrelsome and most contentious in conversations and generally behaving themselves as they usually do? Or is this of little importance to you, so long as the dress is decent, the beard long, and the hair close-cropped? Then this is to be our strict rule and law for the future in these matters according to Hermotimus: we are to distinguish the best men by their appearance, their walk, and their hair, and whosoever has not these signs and does not look sulky and meditative is to be spurned and rejected! You're surely making fun of me, Hermotimus; you're trying to see if I can spot the catch.

HERMOTIMUS

Why do you say that?

LYCINUS

Because, my dear friend, this test of yours from appearances is for statues. They at any rate are much more prepossessing and comely in their dress, if a Phidias or Alcamenes or Myron has made them in the most handsome style. But if these are the surest, critical tests, what would a blind man do if he wanted to take up philosophy? How does he recognise the one who has made the better choice—he can see neither bearing nor gait?

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε οὐ πρὸς τυφλοὺς ὁ λόγος, ὦ Λυκῖνε, οὐδέ μοι μέλει τῶν τοιούτων.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἐχρῆν μέν, ὦ χρηστέ, κοινόν τι τὸ γνώρισμα
εἶναι τῶν οὕτω μεγάλων καὶ ἅπασι χρησίμων.
πλὴν εἰ δοκεῖ, οἱ μὲν ἔξω ἡμῖν φιλοσοφίας μενέτω-
σαν οἱ τυφλοί, ἐπείπερ μηδὲ ὁρῶσι—καίτοι
ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τοῖς τοιούτοις μάλιστα φιλοσοφεῖν
ὡς μὴ πάνυ ἄχθοιντο ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ. οἱ δὲ
δὴ βλέποντες κἂν πάνυ ὀξυδερκεῖς ὦσι τί ἂν
δύναιντο συνιδεῖν τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπό γε τῆς
20 ἔξωθεν ταύτης περιβολῆς; ὃ δὲ βούλομαι εἰπεῖν
τοιόνδε ἐστίν· οὐχ ὅτι τῆς γνώμης τῶν ἀνδρῶν
ἔρωτι προσῄεις αὐτοῖς καὶ ἠξίους ἀμείνων γίγνεσθαι
ἐς τὰ τῆς γνώμης;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Πῶς οὖν οἷόν τέ σοι ἦν ἀφ' ὧν ἔφησθα ἐκείνων τῶν γνωρισμάτων διορᾶν τὸν ὀρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦντα ἢ μή; οὐ γὰρ φιλεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὕτω διαφαίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀπόρρητα καὶ ἐν ἀφανεῖ κείμενα, λόγοις καὶ συνουσίαις ἀναδεικνύμενα καὶ ἔργοις τοῖς ὁμοίοις ὀψὲ μόλις. ὁ γοῦν Μῶμος ἀκήκοας οἶμαι ἅτινα ᾐτιάσατο τοῦ Ἡφαίστου· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἄκουε. φησὶ γὰρ ὁ μῦθος ἐρίσαι Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα καὶ Ἥφαιστον εὐτεχνίας πέρι, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ποσειδῶ ταῦρον ἀναπλάσαι, τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ οἰκίαν ἐπινοῆσαι, ὁ Ἥφαιστος δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἄρα

HERMOTIMUS

My argument is not addressed to the blind, Lycinus, and I have no interest in them.

LYCINUS

But, my good sir, there should be some accepted criterion in matters so important and valuable to everyone. However, if you prefer, let the blind keep clear of philosophy since they cannot see—yet they of all people really should take up philosophy: then they would not be completely overwhelmed by their misfortune. Well then, those who can see: however sharp-sighted they may be, what can they detect of the qualities of the soul from this outer covering? What I wish to say is this: was it not love of the mind of these men that attracted you to them, and didn't you expect to be improved in your mental powers?

HERMOTIMUS

Most certainly.

LYCINUS

Then how could you distinguish the true philosopher from the false by the marks you mentioned? Such things are not usually shown in that way; they are secret and not visible, showing themselves in conversation and discussion and corresponding action, and then only with difficulty and after a long period. You have heard, I suppose, what faults Momus found in Hephaestus; if not I'll tell you. The story goes that Athena, Poseidon, and Hephaestus were quarrelling over which of them was the best artist. Poseidon modelled a bull, Athena designed a house, while Hephaestus, it seems, put together a man. When

συνεστήσατο, καὶ ἐπείπερ ἐπὶ τὸν Μῶμον ἧκον ὅνπερ δικαστὴν προείλοντο, θεασάμενος ἐκεῖνος ἑκάστου τὸ ἔργον, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἅτινα ᾐτιάσατο περιττὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δὲ τοῦτο ἐμέμψατο καὶ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα ἐπέπληξε τὸν Ἥφαιστον διότι μὴ καὶ θυρίδας ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ στέρνον, ὡς ἀναπετασθεισῶν γνώριμα γίγνεσθαι ἅπασιν ἃ βούλεται καὶ ἐπινοεῖ καὶ εἰ [1] ψεύδεται ἢ ἀληθεύει. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἅτε ἀμβλυώττων οὕτω περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διενοεῖτο, σὺ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν Λυγκέα ἡμῖν δέδορκας καὶ ὁρᾷς τὰ ἔνδον ὡς ἔοικε διὰ τοῦ στέρνου καὶ ἀνέῳκταί σοι τὰ πάντα, ὡς εἰδέναι μὴ μόνον ἃ βούλεται καὶ ἃ γιγνώσκει ἕκαστος ἀλλὰ καὶ πότερος ἀμείνων ἢ χείρων.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Παίζεις, ὦ Λυκῖνε. ἐγὼ δὲ κατὰ θεὸν εἱλόμην
21 καὶ οὐ μεταμέλει μοι τῆς αἱρέσεως. ἱκανὸν δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς γοῦν ἐμέ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ὅμως οὐκ ἂν εἴποις, ὦ ἑταῖρε, καὶ πρὸς ἐμέ, ἀλλὰ περιόψει με παραπολόμενον ἐν τῷ πολλῷ συρφετῷ;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐδὲν γάρ σοι ἀρέσκει ὧν ἂν εἴπω.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὔκ, ὦγαθέ, ἀλλ᾿ οὐδὲν ἐθέλεις εἰπεῖν ὁποῖον ἄν μοι ἀρέσειεν. ἐπεὶ δ᾿ οὖν σὺ ἑκὼν ἀποκρύπτῃ καὶ φθονεῖς ἡμῖν ὡς μὴ ἐξ ἴσου γενοίμεθά σοι φιλοσοφήσαντες, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι ὅπως ἂν οἷός

they came to Momus, whom they had appointed judge, he examined the work of each. What faults he found in the other two we need not say, but his criticism of the man and his reproof of the craftsman, Hephaestus, was this: he had not made windows in his chest which could be opened to let everyone see his desires and thoughts and if he were lying or telling the truth. Momus, of course, being shortsighted, held such notions about men, but you have better sight than Lynceus and, it seems, see through the chest to what is inside, and everything is revealed to you, and you know not only what each man wants and thinks, but also who is better or worse.

HERMOTIMUS

You are joking, Lycinus. I chose with God's help and I have no regrets. I at any rate am satisfied.

LYCINUS

But will you not tell me too, my friend? Or will you leave me rotting among the vulgar rabble?

HERMOTIMUS

Nothing I say pleases you.

LYCINUS

Not so, my good sir; you refuse to say anything to please me. So, since you are deliberately keeping me in the dark and you grudge me the chance of becoming as good a philosopher as you are, I shall

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[1] εἰ Solanus from one late MS.: ἢ other MSS.

τε ὦ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἐξευρεῖν τὴν ἀκριβῆ περὶ τούτων κρίσιν καὶ τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην αἵρεσιν. ἄκουε δὲ καὶ σύ, εἰ βούλει.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἀλλὰ βούλομαι, ὦ Λυκῖνε. ἴσως γάρ τι γνώριμον ἐρεῖς.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Σκόπει δὴ καὶ μὴ καταγελάσῃς, εἰ παντάπασιν ἰδιωτικῶς ἀναζητῶ αὐτό· ἀνάγκη γὰρ οὕτως, ἐπεὶ μὴ σὺ ἐθέλεις σαφέστερον εἰπεῖν εἰδὼς ἄμεινον.

22 *Ἔστω δή μοι ἡ μὲν ἀρετὴ τοιόνδε τι οἷον πόλις τις εὐδαίμονας ἔχουσα τοὺς ἐμπολιτευομένους (ὡς φαίη ἂν ὁ διδάσκαλος ὁ σὸς ἐκεῖθέν ποθεν ἀφιγμένος), σοφοὺς ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον, ἀνδρείους ἅπαντας, δικαίους, σώφρονας, ὀλίγον θεῶν ἀποδέοντας. οἷα δὲ πολλὰ γίγνεται παρ' ἡμῖν—ἁρπαζόντων καὶ βιαζομένων καὶ πλεονεκτούντων—οὐδὲν ἂν ἴδοις, φασίν, ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει τολμώμενον, ἀλλὰ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ ξυμπολιτεύονται, μάλ' εἰκότως· ἃ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν οἶμαι τὰς στάσεις καὶ φιλονεικίας ἐγείρει καὶ ὧν ἕνεκα ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ταῦτα πάντα ἐκποδών ἐστιν ἐκείνοις. οὐ γὰρ οὔτε χρυσίον ἔτι οὔτε ἡδονὰς οὔτε δόξας ὁρῶσιν ὡς διαφέρεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι τῆς πόλεως ἐξεληλάκασιν αὐτὰ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα ἡγησάμενοι ξυμπολιτεύεσθαι. ὥστε γαληνόν τινα καὶ πανευδαίμονα βίον βιοῦσιν ξὺν εὐνομίᾳ καὶ ἰσότητι καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς.*

try as well as I can to find out for myself the true test for these matters and the safest choice to make. Now please listen to me.

HERMOTIMUS

I am willing, Lycinus. Perhaps you will say something important.

LYCINUS

Then give me your attention and don't mock me if my investigation is altogether that of a layman; it can't be helped when you will not explain more precisely although you know better.

Virtue then seems to me like a city whose inhabitants are happy (as your teacher, who has come from there, wherever it may be, would say), outstanding in their wisdom, all of them brave, just, prudent, almost gods. All those things that you find here—robbery, violence, cheating—they say you would find none of them ventured in that city; no, they live together in peace and harmony naturally enough; for what, I suppose, in other cities produces strife and discord, plot and counter-plot, is entirely absent. They do not any longer look on gold, pleasures, or glory as things to quarrel about—they drove them from the city long ago, thinking them unnecessary to their common life. So they live a calm and perfectly happy life with good government, equality, freedom, and the other blessings.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

23 Τί οὖν, ὦ Λυκῖνε; οὐκ ἄξιον ἅπαντας ἐπιθυμεῖν πολίτας γίγνεσθαι τῆς τοιαύτης πόλεως μήτε κάματον ὑπολογιζομένους τὸν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ μήτε πρὸς τὸ μῆκος τοῦ χρόνου ἀπαγορεύοντας, εἰ μέλλουσιν ἀφικόμενοι ἐγγραφήσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ μεθέξειν τῆς πολιτείας;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Νὴ Δία, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, πάντων μάλιστα ἐπὶ τούτῳ σπουδαστέον, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀμελητέον, καὶ μήτε πατρίδος τῆς ἐνταῦθα ἐπιλαμβανομένης πολὺν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον μήτε παίδων ἢ γονέων ὅτῳ εἰσὶν ἐπικατεχόντων καὶ κλαυθμυριζομένων ἐπικλᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν κἀκείνους παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐθέλοιεν ἢ μὴ δύναιντο, ἀποσεισάμενον αὐτοὺς χωρεῖν εὐθὺ τῆς πανευδαίμονος ἐκείνης πόλεως καὶ αὐτὸ ἀπορρίψαντα τὸ ἱμάτιον εἰ τούτου ἐπειλημμένοι κατερύκοιεν, ἐσσύμενον ἐκεῖσε—οὐ γὰρ δέος μή σέ τις ἀποκλείσῃ καὶ γυμνὸν ἐκεῖσε ἥκοντα.

24 Ἤδη γάρ ποτε καὶ ἄλλοτε πρεσβύτου ἀνδρὸς ἤκουσα διεξιόντος ὅπως τὰ ἐκεῖ πράγματα ἔχοι, καί με προὔτρεπεν ἕπεσθαί οἱ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν· ἡγήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐλθόντα ἐγγράψειν καὶ φυλέτην ποιήσεσθαι καὶ φρατρίας μεταδώσειν τῆς αὐτοῦ, ὡς μετὰ πάντων εὐδαιμονοίην. "ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθόμην" ὑπ' ἀνοίας καὶ νεότητος τότε, πρὸ πεντεκαίδεκα σχεδὸν ἐτῶν· ἴσως γὰρ ἂν αὐτὰ ἤδη ἀμφὶ τὰ προάστεια καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἦν. ἔλεγε δ' οὖν περὶ τῆς πόλεως, εἴ γε μέμνημαι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ [1] τάδε, ὡς

HERMOTIMUS

Well then, Lycinus, isn't it right for everyone to long for citizenship of a city like that, and neither to think of the toils of the journey nor give up because of the time it takes, if once they get there they too are going to be enrolled as citizens and share in the city's life?

LYCINUS

Yes, indeed, Hermotimus, this we must strive for above everything, and all else we must ignore. If our native country here lays claim to us, we must take scant notice, and if any children or parents we may have cling to us weeping, we shall not give way. No, first and foremost we shall urge them to follow the same road. If they will not, or cannot, we must shake them off and make straight for that all-happy city, throwing off our very cloak should they hold on to it to drag us back as we hurry there—for there is no fear of being shut out, even if you come there naked.

On another occasion before this I have heard an old man telling how things were there and urging me to follow him to the city; he would guide me himself and enrol me on my arrival, make me a fellow-tribesman and let me share his clan, so that I might be happy with all the others. "But I would not listen"[1] at that time through folly and youth (it was about fifteen years ago); perhaps by now I should have been in the very suburbs, even by the gates. He told me much about the city, if I remember, and in particular this, that all the inhabitants

[1] A verse quotation.

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[1] καὶ δὴ καὶ Schaefer: καὶ ἤδη καὶ MSS.

ξύμπαντες μὲν ἐπήλυδες καὶ ξένοι εἶεν, αὐθιγενὴς δὲ οὐδὲ εἷς, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρους ἐμπολιτεύεσθαι πολλοὺς καὶ δούλους καὶ ἀμόρφους καὶ μικροὺς καὶ πένητας, καὶ ὅλως μετέχειν τῆς πόλεως τὸν βουλόμενον· τὸν γὰρ δὴ νόμον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐγγραφὴν οὐδ' ἀπὸ σχημάτων ἢ μεγέθους ἢ κάλλους οὐδ' ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ τῶν[1] λαμπρῶν ἐκ προγόνων, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδὲ νομίζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀποχρῆν δ' ἑκάστῳ πρὸς τὸ πολίτην γενέσθαι σύνεσιν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν καλῶν καὶ πόνον καὶ τὸ λιπαρὲς καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐνδοῦναι μηδὲ μαλακισθῆναι πολλοῖς τοῖς δυσχερέσι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα, ὡς ὅστις ἂν ταῦτα ἐπιδείξηται καὶ διεξέλθῃ πορευόμενος ἄχρι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, αὐτίκα μάλα πολίτην ὄντα τοῦτον ὅστις ἂν ᾖ καὶ ἰσότιμον ἅπασι· τὸ δὲ χείρων ἢ κρείττων ἢ εὐπατρίδης ἢ ἀγεννὴς ἢ δοῦλος ἢ ἐλεύθερος οὐδὲ ὅλως εἶναι ἢ λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

25 Ὁρᾷς, ὦ Λυκῖνε, ὡς οὐ μάτην οὐδὲ περὶ μικρῶν κάμνω πολίτης ἐπιθυμῶν γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω καλῆς καὶ εὐδαίμονος πόλεως;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ γὰρ αὐτός, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, τῶν αὐτῶν σοι ἐρῶ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι ἂν μοι πρὸ τούτων εὐξαίμην γενέσθαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν πλησίον ἦν ἡ πόλις καὶ φανερὰ ἰδεῖν ἅπασι, πάλαι ἄν, εὖ ἴσθι, μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσας αὐτὸς ᾖειν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπολιτευόμην ἂν ἐκ πολλοῦ, ἐπεὶ δέ, ὡς ὑμεῖς φατε, σύ τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος ὁ ῥαψῳδός, πάνυ πόρρω ἀπῴκισται,

were aliens and foreigners, not one was a native; there were even many barbarians among the citizens, as well as slaves, cripples, dwarfs, and paupers—in a word anyone who wanted to take part in the city; for property, apparel, height, good looks, family, brilliant ancestry, were not required by law for enrolment; on the contrary, they gave no place in their customs to them; no, intelligence, a desire for what is good, industry, perseverance, a refusal to give in or be weakened by the many hardships encountered on the way, were enough for a man to become a citizen; whoever showed these qualities and kept on going all the way to the city was a citizen there and then equal to them all; inferior or superior, noble or common, bond or free, simply did not exist and were not mentioned in the city.

HERMOTIMUS

You see then, Lycinus, that my labour is not in vain or for trifles, if I desire to be myself a citizen of a city so fair and happy.

LYCINUS

Yes, Hermotimus, and I myself am in love with the same things and there is nothing I would pray for more. If the city had been near at hand and visible to everyone, you can be sure that long since, without a moment's hesitation, I myself should have entered in and been a citizen this long time, but, since, as you say, you and the poet Hesiod, it has been built at a very

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[1] *τοῦ τῶν λαμπρῶν* Fritzsche: *οὕτω λαμπρὸν* Γ: *οὐδὲ λαμπρῶν* N.

ἀνάγκη ζητεῖν ὁδόν τε τὴν ἄγουσαν ἐπ' αὐτὴν καὶ ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἄριστον. ἢ οὐκ οἴει σὺ χρῆναι οὕτω ποιεῖν;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ *πῶς ἂν ἄλλως ἔλθοι τις;*

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν ὅσον μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ[1] *ὑπισχνεῖσθαι καὶ φάσκειν εἰδέναι πολλὴ ἀφθονία τῶν ἡγησομένων. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἕτοιμοι παρεστᾶσιν αὐτόχθονες ἐκεῖθεν ἕκαστος εἶναι λέγοντες. ὁδός γε μὴν οὐ μία καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ φαίνεται ἀλλὰ πολλαὶ καὶ διάφοροι καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλήλαις ὅμοιαι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω φέρειν ἔοικεν, ἡ δέ τις ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους, καὶ ἄλλη εὐθὺ τῆς μεσημβρίας, καὶ ἡ μὲν διὰ λειμώνων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ σκιᾶς εὔυδρος καὶ ἡδεῖα οὐδὲν ἀντίτυπον ἢ δύσβατον ἔχουσα, ἡ δὲ πετρώδης καὶ τραχεῖα πολὺν ἥλιον καὶ δίψος καὶ κάματον προφαίνουσα. καὶ ὅμως αὗται πᾶσαι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἄγειν λέγονται μίαν οὖσαν ἐς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα τελευτῶσαι.*

26 *Ἔνθα δή μοι καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ἀπορία ἐστίν. ἐφ' ἣν γὰρ ἂν ἔλθω αὐτῶν, ἀνὴρ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀτραποῦ ἑκάστης*[2] *ἐφεστὼς ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ μάλα τις ἀξιόπιστος ὀρέγει τε τὴν χεῖρα καὶ προτρέπει κατὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ ἀπιέναι, λέγων ἕκαστος αὐτῶν μόνος τὴν εὐθεῖαν εἰδέναι τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πλανᾶσθαι μήτε αὐτοὺς ἐληλυθότας μήτε ἄλλοις ἡγήσασθαι δυναμένοις ἀκολουθήσαντας. κἂν ἐπὶ τὸν πλησίον ἀφίκωμαι, κἀκεῖνος τὰ ὅμοια ὑπισχνεῖται περὶ*

[1] So Fritzsche: *σὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ* ΓΝ: *ὅσον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ* Seager.
[2] *ἑκάστης* Jensius: *ἕκαστος* MSS.

great distance, we must look for the path that leads there and the best guide to follow. Don't you agree that we must do this?

HERMOTIMUS

How else could one go there?

LYCINUS

Well, as regards making promises and saying that they know, there are plenty of would-be guides. Many are standing ready, each one saying he is a native of that city. But no one and the same road is to be seen. There are many different ones not at all like each other: one seems to lead to the west, another to the east, another to the north, a fourth straight towards the south; one goes through meadows and gardens and shady spots—a well-watered, pleasant road with nothing to block the way or make hard-going; another is rocky and rough, promising much sun and thirst and exhaustion. Nevertheless all these roads are said to lead to the city, although there is but one city, while they have their ends in the opposite parts of the globe.

All my difficulty lies here. For, whichever of them I approach, a man who stands at the beginning of each path at the entrance, a very trustworthy person, stretches out his hand, and urges me to go off along his road, and each one of them says that he alone knows the direct route and that the others are astray, since they have neither gone there themselves nor followed others able to lead them. If I go to his neighbour, he makes similar promises

τῆς αὐτοῦ ὁδοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κακίζει, καὶ ὁ παρ' αὐτὸν ὁμοίως καὶ ἑξῆς ἅπαντες. τό τε τοίνυν πλῆθος τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τὸ ἀνόμοιον αὐτῶν οὐ μετρίως ταράττει με καὶ ἀπορεῖν ποιεῖ, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἡγεμόνες ὑπερδιατεινόμενοι καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι ἐπαινοῦντες. οὐ γὰρ οἶδα ἥντινα τραπόμενος ἢ τῷ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἀκολουθήσας ἀφικοίμην ἂν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

27 'Αλλ' ἐγώ σε ἀπολύσω τῆς ἀπορίας. τοῖς γὰρ προωδοιπορηκόσιν, ὦ Λυκῖνε, πιστεύσας οὐκ ἂν σφαλείης.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τίσι λέγεις; τοῖς κατὰ ποίαν ὁδὸν ἐλθοῦσιν; ἢ τίνι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀκολουθήσασιν; αὖθις γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ ἄπορον ἐν ἄλλῃ μορφῇ ἀναφαίνεται ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας μετεληλυθός.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Πῶς τοῦτο φής;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ὅτι ὁ μὲν τὴν Πλάτωνος τραπόμενος καὶ συνοδοιπορήσας μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνην ἐπαινέσεται δῆλον ὅτι, ὁ δὲ τὴν 'Επικούρου, ἐκείνην, καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλην, σὺ δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν. ἢ πῶς γάρ, ὦ 'Ερμότιμε; οὐχ οὕτως;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐ τοίνυν ἀπέλυσάς με τῆς ἀπορίας, ἀλλ' ἔτι ὁμοίως ἀγνοῶ τῷ μᾶλλον χρὴ πιστεῦσαι τῶν

about his own road and vilifies the others. The man next to him acts similarly, and so do they all in turn. The number of roads, then, and the differences between them, and especially the way the guides over-strain themselves, each sect praising its own, worries me immoderately and makes me uncertain. I don't know which way to turn or which one to follow to reach the city.

HERMOTIMUS

I will free you from your uncertainty. Trust those who have made the journey before, Lycinus, and you cannot go wrong.

LYCINUS

Whom do you mean? Which road did they go? Which of the guides did they follow? The same uncertainty appears to us in another guise shifting from events to persons.

HERMOTIMUS

What do you mean?

LYCINUS

That the man who took Plato's path and had him for travelling-companion will obviously praise Plato's route, and so with Epicurus's and the rest and you with yours. What about it, Hermotimus? Is that not so?

HERMOTIMUS

Of course.

LYCINUS

Then you have not freed me from my uncertainty. I am just as much in the dark which of the travellers

ὁδοιπόρων. ὁρῶ γὰρ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἡγεμόνα μιᾶς πεπειραμένον καὶ ἐκείνην ἐπαινοῦντα καὶ λέγοντα ὡς αὕτη μόνη ἄγει ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μέντοι ἔχω εἰδέναι εἰ ἀληθῆ φησιν. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἀφῖκται πρός τι τέλος καὶ εἶδέ τινα πόλιν δώσω αὐτῷ ἴσως, εἰ δὲ ἐκείνην εἶδεν ἣν ἐχρῆν ἐν ᾗ ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἐγώ τε καὶ σὺ πολιτεύσασθαι, ἢ δέον [1] εἰς Κόρινθον ἐλθεῖν, ὁ δ' εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἀφικόμενος οἴεται Κόρινθον ἑωρακέναι, ἄδηλον ἐμοὶ γοῦν ἔτι—οὐ γὰρ πάντως ὁ τινὰ πόλιν ἰδὼν Κόρινθον εἶδεν, εἴ γε οὐ μόνη πόλις ἐστὶν ἡ Κόρινθος. ὃ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα εἰς ἀπορίαν με καθίστησιν, ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν—τὸ εἰδέναι ὅτι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη μίαν εἶναι τὴν ἀληθῆ ὁδόν· καὶ γὰρ ἡ Κόρινθος μία ἐστίν, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πανταχόσε μᾶλλον ἢ εἰς Κόρινθον ἄγουσιν, εἰ μή τις οὕτω σφόδρα παραπαίει ὡς οἴεσθαι καὶ τὴν εἰς Ὑπερβορέους καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἄγουσαν εἰς Κόρινθον στέλλειν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ πῶς οἷόν τε, ὦ Λυκῖνε; ἄλλη γὰρ ἀλλαχόσε ἄγει.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

28 Οὐκοῦν, ὦ καλὲ Ἑρμότιμε, οὐ μικρᾶς δεῖ βουλῆς ἐπὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν ὁδῶν τε καὶ ἡγεμόνων, οὐδὲ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομεν—ἔνθα ἂν ἡμᾶς οἱ πόδες φέρωσιν, ἐκεῖσε ἄπιμεν· ἐπεὶ λήσομεν οὕτως ἀντὶ τῆς εἰς Κόρινθον ἀγούσης τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἢ Βάκτρων ἀπιόντες. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο καλῶς ἔχει τῇ τύχῃ ἐπιτρέπειν ὡς τάχα ἂν τὴν ἀρίστην ἑλομένους, εἰ καὶ ἄνευ

[1] ἢ δέον Solanus : ἡδέως MSS.

to trust. For I see that each of them and the guide himself have tried only one way, and he praises that one and says that it alone leads to the city. But I cannot know whether he is speaking the truth. That he has reached some destination and has seen some city or other, I will perhaps grant him. But whether he has seen the one he should have seen (that in which you and I want to live) or whether, when he should have gone to Corinth, he has arrived at Babylon and thinks he has seen Corinth, I still do not know—certainly not everyone who has seen a city has seen Corinth, if Corinth is not the only city. What particularly makes me uncertain is this—my knowing that only one road can possibly be the right one. Only one road is the Corinth road, and the other roads lead anywhere except to Corinth, unless a man is so much out of his wits as to think that both the road to the Hyperboreans and the road to India lead to Corinth.

HERMOTIMUS

How could that be, Lycinus? Different roads lead to different places.

LYCINUS

Well then, my dear Hermotimus, no little deliberation is needed when we choose roads and guides, and we shall not act according to the saying and go off wherever our feet take us; in that way we shall be going off on the road to Babylon or Bactra instead of the road to Corinth without realising it. It is by no means sound to trust to fortune and hope we shall perhaps take the best road, if we start out on

ἐξετάσεως ὁρμήσαιμεν ἐπὶ μίαν τῶν ὁδῶν ἡντιναοῦν. δυνατὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο γενέσθαι, καὶ ἴσως ποτὲ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ· ἡμᾶς δέ γε περὶ τῶν οὕτω μεγάλων οὐκ οἶμαι δεῖν παραβόλως ἀναρριπτεῖν οὐδὲ ἐς στενὸν κομιδῇ κατακλείειν τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐπὶ ῥιπός, ὡς ἡ παροιμία φησί, τὸν Αἰγαῖον ἢ τὸν Ἰόνιον διαπλεῦσαι θέλοντας, ὅτε οὐδὲ αἰτιασαίμεθ' ἂν εὐλόγως τὴν τύχην, εἰ τοξεύουσα καὶ ἀκοντίζουσα μὴ πάντως ἔτυχε τἀληθοῦς ἑνὸς ὄντος ἐν μυρίοις τοῖς ψεύδεσιν, ὅπερ οὐδὲ τῷ Ὁμηρικῷ τοξότῃ ὑπῆρξεν, ὃς δέον τὴν πελειάδα κατατοξεῦσαι, ὁ δὲ τὴν μήρινθον ἐνέτεμεν· ὁ Τεῦκρος οἶμαι. ἀλλὰ παρὰ πολὺ ἐκεῖνο εὐλογώτερον τῶν πολλῶν τρωθήσεσθαι καὶ περιπεσεῖσθαι τῷ τοξεύματι ἐλπίζειν ἢ πάντως ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἓν ἐξ ἁπάντων. ὁ δὲ κίνδυνος ὅτι οὐ μικρός, εἰ ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπ' εὐθὺ ἀγούσης ἐς τῶν πεπλανημένων μίαν ἀγνοοῦντες ἐμπέσοιμεν, ἐλπίζοντες ἄμεινον αἱρήσεσθαι τὴν τύχην ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, εἰκάζειν οἶμαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀναστρέψαι ἔτι καὶ ἀνασωθῆναι ὀπίσω ῥᾴδιον, ἢν ἅπαξ ἐπιδῷ τις αὑτον τῇ πνεούσῃ [1] τὰ ἀπόγεια λυσάμενος, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη ἐν τῷ πελάγει διαφέρεσθαι ναυτιῶντα ὡς τὸ πολὺ καὶ δεδιότα καὶ καρηβαροῦντα ὑπὸ τοῦ σάλου, δέον ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρὶν ἐκπλεῦσαι ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ σκοπήν τινα σκέψασθαι εἰ ἐπίφορόν ἐστι καὶ οὔριον τὸ πνεῦμα τοῖς Κόρινθόνδε διαπλεῦσαι ἐθέλουσι, καὶ νὴ Δία κυβερνήτην ἕνα τὸν ἄριστον ἐκλέξασθαι καὶ ναῦν εὐπαγῆ οἵαν διαρκέσαι πρὸς τηλικοῦτον κλύδωνα.

[1] πνεούσῃ Solanus : πλεούσῃ MSS.

one or the other without enquiry. It is possible for even that to happen, and perhaps at some period of time's long history it has already happened; but in a matter of such importance I think we ought not to run such a reckless risk or confine hope entirely within narrow bounds, ready as the proverb says to sail the Aegean or Ionian seas on a mat; then we should have no right to accuse fortune, if with her arrows and spears she did not altogether hit the one thing that is true among the many that are not. Even Homer's archer did not succeed in that—when he should have shot the dove he cut the string; Teucer I think it was.[1] No, there was much more reason to expect one of the many others to be wounded and fall foul of the arrow than that particular one out of them all. The risk is not slight, if in ignorance we rush into one of the by-ways instead of the straight route in the hope that fortune will make a better choice on our behalf—I think you see that. For still to turn round and come back again in safety is no easy matter once a man casts off his mooring lines and surrenders himself to the wind; he must be tossed about on the sea, usually sick and frightened and with a bad head from the swell, whereas he ought in the first place, before he sailed out, to have climbed up to some look-out and seen whether the wind was fair and favourable for those who wanted to sail over to Corinth, and indeed he ought to have selected the very best navigator and a sound ship able to withstand such a heavy sea.

[1] Homer, *Il.* xxiii, 867.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

29 Οὕτω γε ἄμεινον, ὦ Λυκῖνε, παρὰ πολύ. πλὴν οἶδά γε ὅτι ἅπαντας ἐν κύκλῳ περιελθὼν οὐκ ἄλλους ἂν εὕροις οὔτε ἡγεμόνας ἀμείνους οὔτε κυβερνήτας ἐμπειροτέρους τῶν Στωϊκῶν, καὶ ἢν ἐθελήσῃς γε ἀφικέσθαι ποτὲ εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, ἐκείνοις ἕψῃ κατὰ τὰ Χρυσίππου καὶ Ζήνωνος ἴχνη προϊών. ἄλλως δὲ ἀδύνατον.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ὁρᾷς τοῦτο ὡς κοινόν, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, εἴρηκας; εἴποι γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ τῷ Πλάτωνι ξυνοδοιπορῶν καὶ ὁ Ἐπικούρῳ ἑπόμενος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, μὴ ἂν ἐλθεῖν με εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον εἰ μὴ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἕκαστος. ὥστε ἢ πᾶσι πιστεύειν χρή (ὅπερ γελοιότατον), ἢ ἀπιστεῖν ὁμοίως. μακρῷ γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄχρι ἂν εὕρωμεν τὸν ἀληθῆ.[1]

30 Ἐπεὶ φέρε, εἰ καθάπερ νῦν ἔχω, ἀγνοῶν ἔτι ὅστις ἐξ ἁπάντων ἐστὶν ὁ ἀληθεύων, ἑλοίμην τὰ ὑμέτερα σοὶ πιστεύσας, ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ, ἀτὰρ μόνα γε τὰ τῶν Στωϊκῶν εἰδότι καὶ μίαν ὁδὸν ὁδοιπορήσαντι ταύτην· ἔπειτα θεῶν τις ἀναβιῶναι ποιήσειε Πλάτωνα καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ περιστάντες ἐρωτῷέν με ἢ καὶ νὴ Δί' ἐς δικαστήριον ἀγαγόντες ὕβρεως ἕκαστος δικάζοιντο λέγοντες, Ὦ βέλτιστε Λυκῖνε, τί παθὼν ἢ τίνι ποτὲ πιστεύσας Χρύσιππον καὶ Ζήνωνα προετίμησας ἡμῶν, πρεσβυτέρων ὄντων παρὰ πολύ, χθὲς καὶ πρῴην γενομένους, μήτε λόγου μεταδοὺς ἡμῖν μήτε πειραθεὶς ὅλως ὧν

[1] So Fritzsche: *τἀληθῆ ὑπισχνούμενον* (om. *ὑπισχ.* G) MSS.

HERMOTIMUS

That is the better way, Lycinus, by far. Yet I know that if you made a round tour of them all you would find no others who were better pilots or more experienced navigators than the Stoics; and, if you want to reach Corinth some day, you will follow them, treading the tracks of Chrysippus and Zeno. No other way is possible.

LYCINUS

Do you see, Hermotimus, how universal is that assertion you have made? Plato's fellow-traveller, Epicurus's follower, and the rest of them, would say the same, every one of them, that I could not go to Corinth without his company. So I must either believe them all alike (which is ridiculous) or disbelieve them all alike. The latter is by far the safest course until we discover the true one.

Come now, suppose that I, just as I am, still ignorant which of them all has the truth, should choose your way, putting my trust in you, a friend, but one who knows only the way of the Stoics and has travelled by this road alone; then suppose one of the gods brought Plato, Pythagoras, Aristotle, and the rest, back to life, and they stood round me and put questions to me, or even, by Zeus, brought me into court and sued me each and every one of them for maltreatment, saying: "My good Lycinus, what was the matter with you? Who persuaded you to give Chrysippus and Zeno preference over us, who are older by far than they? They were born only yesterday, or the day before, and you have given us no chance to speak, and you have put nothing of what we say to the test." Supposing they said this,

φαμέν; εἰ ταῦτα λέγοιεν τί ἂν ἀποκριναίμην αὐτοῖς; ἢ ἐξαρκέσει μοι ἂν εἴπω ὅτι Ἑρμοτίμῳ ἐπείσθην φίλῳ ἀνδρί; ἀλλὰ φαῖεν ἄν, οἶδ' ὅτι, Ἡμεῖς, ὦ Λυκῖνε, οὐκ ἴσμεν τὸν Ἑρμότιμον τοῦτον ὅστις ποτέ ἐστιν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἡμᾶς. ὥστε οὐκ ἐχρῆν ἁπάντων καταγιγνώσκειν οὐδὲ ἐρήμην ἡμῶν καταδιαιτᾶν ἀνδρὶ πιστεύσαντα μίαν ὁδὸν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτην ἴσως ἀκριβῶς κατανοήσαντι. οἱ δέ γε νομοθέται, ὦ Λυκῖνε, οὐχ οὕτω προστάττουσι τοῖς δικασταῖς ποιεῖν οὐδὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου μὲν ἀκούειν, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον οὐκ ἐᾶν λέγειν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἃ οἴεται ξυμφέρειν, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροᾶσθαι, ὡς ῥᾷον ἀντεξετάζοντες τοὺς λόγους εὑρίσκοιεν τἀληθῆ τε καὶ ψευδῆ, καὶ ἤν γε μὴ οὕτω ποιῶσιν ἐφιέναι δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος εἰς ἕτερον δικαστήριον.

31 *Τοιαῦτα ἄττα εἰκὸς ἐρεῖν αὐτούς. ἢ τάχ' ἄν τις αὐτῶν καὶ προσέροιτό με, Εἰπέ μοι, λέγων, ὦ Λυκῖνε, εἴ τις Αἰθίοψ μηδεπώποτε ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἰδών, οἷοι ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀποδεδημηκέναι τὸ παράπαν, ἔν τινι συλλόγῳ τῶν Αἰθιόπων διισχυρίζοιτο καὶ λέγοι μηδαμόθι τῆς γῆς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι λευκοὺς ἢ ξανθοὺς μηδὲ ἄλλο τι ἢ μέλανας, ἆρα πιστεύοιτ' ἂν ὑπ' αὐτῶν; ἢ εἴποι τις ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Αἰθιόπων, Σὺ δὲ δὴ πόθεν ταῦτα, ὦ θρασύτατε, οἶσθα; οὐ γὰρ ἀπεδήμησας παρ' ἡμῶν οὐδαμόσε οὐδὲ εἶδες νὴ Δία τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁποῖά ἐστι. φαίην ἂν ἔγωγε δίκαια ἐρωτῆσαι τὸν πρεσβύτην. ἢ πῶς ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, συμβουλεύεις;*

how could I answer them? Or will it be enough if I say that I was persuaded by Hermotimus, a friend of mine? Their answer I know would be: "We, Lycinus, do not know this Hermotimus, whoever he is, and he does not know us either. So you had no right to condemn us all and give a judgment in default against us through relying on a man who is acquainted with only one way in philosophy, and even that perhaps not fully. Lawgivers, Lycinus, do not instruct judges to adopt this procedure, or to give one party a hearing and not allow the other to speak on its own behalf what it thinks is to its own advantage. No, they say that both sides must be given an equal hearing, so that by comparing the opposing arguments they may be assisted in discovering the true and the false, and if they do not adopt this procedure the law allows an appeal to another court."

Such or something like it is the argument they would use. Or one of them perhaps would even put an additional question to me: "Tell me this, Lycinus: suppose an Ethiopian, a man who had never seen other men like us, because he had never been abroad at all, should state and assert in some assembly of the Ethiopians that nowhere in the world were there any men white or yellow or of any other colour than black, would he be believed by them? Or would one of the older Ethiopians say to him: 'Come now, you are very bold. How do you know this? You have never left us to go anywhere else, and indeed you have never seen what things are like among other peoples?'" I for my part would say that the old man had asked a fair question. Or what do you advise, Hermotimus?

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὕτω. δικαιότατα γὰρ ἐπιπλῆξαι δοκεῖ μοι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ γὰρ ἔμοιγε, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε. ἀλλὰ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο οὐκέτ' οἶδα εἰ ὁμοίως καὶ σοὶ δόξει. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο πάνυ δοκεῖ.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τὸ ποῖον;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

32 Ἐπάξει δηλαδὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ φήσει πρός με ὧδέ πως, Ἀνάλογον τοίνυν, ὦ Λυκῖνε, κείσθω τις ἡμῖν τὰ Στωϊκῶν μόνα εἰδώς, καθάπερ ὁ σὸς φίλος οὗτος ὁ Ἑρμότιμος, ἀποδημήσας δὲ μηδεπώποτε μήτε ἐς Πλάτωνος μήτε παρὰ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον μήτε ὅλως παρ' ἄλλον τινά. εἰ τοίνυν λέγοι μηδὲν οὕτω καλὸν εἶναι μηδ' ἀληθὲς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οἷα τὰ τῆς Στοᾶς ἐστι καὶ ἃ ἐκείνη φησίν, οὐκ ἂν εὐλόγως θρασὺς εἶναι δόξειεν σοι περὶ πάντων ἀποφαινόμενος, καὶ ταῦτα ἓν εἰδώς, οὐδεπώποτε ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας τὸν ἕτερον πόδα προελθών; τί βούλει ἀποκρίνωμαι αὐτῷ;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τὸ ἀληθέστατον ἐκεῖνο δηλαδή, ὅτι ἡμεῖς τὰ μὲν Στωϊκῶν καὶ πάνυ ἐκμανθάνομεν ὡς ἂν κατὰ ταῦτα φιλοσοφεῖν ἀξιοῦντες, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων λεγόμενα. ὁ γὰρ διδάσκαλος κἀκεῖνα μεταξὺ διέξεισι πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀνατρέπει γε αὐτὰ προσθεὶς αὐτός.

HERMOTIMUS

I agree. His rebuke seems to me very just.

LYCINUS

To me as well, Hermotimus. But I do not know that you will similarly agree with what follows. To me this too seems to be very just.

HERMOTIMUS

What?

LYCINUS

The fellow will certainly go on and say to me something like this: "Let us make a comparison, Lycinus, and posit a man who knows only the Stoic tenets, like this friend of yours, Hermotimus; he has never gone abroad to Plato's country or stayed with Epicurus or in short with anyone else. Now, if he said that there was nothing in these many lands as beautiful or as true as the tenets and assertions of Stoicism, would you not with good reason think him bold in giving his opinion on all, and that when he knows only one, and has never put one foot outside Ethiopia?" What answer do you think I should give him?

HERMOTIMUS

This very true one, of course: that we do learn Stoicism very thoroughly indeed, since we think fit to pursue this branch of philosophy, but we are not unacquainted with what the others say. For our teacher explains all that to us as he goes along, and knocks it down with his own comments.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

33 Ἢ νομίζεις ἐνταῦθα σιωπήσεσθαι ἡμῖν τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Ἐπίκουρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀναγελάσαντας ἂν εἰπεῖν πρὸς ἐμέ, Οἷα ποιεῖ, ὦ Λυκῖνε, ὁ ἑταῖρός σου ὁ Ἑρμότιμος; ἀξιοῖ τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις περὶ ἡμῶν πιστεύειν καὶ οἴεται τοιαῦτα εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα ὁποῖα ἂν ἐκεῖνοι φῶσιν ἢ οὐκ εἰδότες ἢ κρυπτόμενοι τἀληθές; οὐκοῦν ἤν τινα καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἴδῃ ἀσκούμενον πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος λακτίζοντα εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ἢ πὺξ κενὴν πληγήν τινα καταφέροντα ὡς τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν δῆθεν παίοντα, εὐθὺς ἀνακηρύξει αὐτὸν ἀγωνοθέτης ὢν ὡς ἄμαχόν τινα ἢ ἐκεῖνα μὲν οἰήσεται ῥᾴδια εἶναι καὶ ἀσφαλῆ τὰ νεανιεύματα οὐδενὸς ἀνταιρομένου αὐτῷ, τὴν δὲ νίκην τηνικαῦτα κρίνεσθαι ὁπόταν καταγωνίσηται τὸν ἀντίπαλον αὐτὸν καὶ κρατήσῃ ὁ δ' ἀπαγορεύσῃ, ἄλλως δὲ οὔ; μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ Ἑρμότιμος ἀφ' ὧν ἂν οἱ διδάσκαλοι αὐτοῦ σκιαμαχῶσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπόντας οἰέσθω κρατεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ τὰ ἡμέτερα τοιαῦτα εἶναι ὡς ἀνατρέπεσθαι ῥᾳδίως. ἐπεὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὅμοιον ἂν εἴη τοῖς τῶν παιδίων οἰκοδομήμασιν ἃ κατασκευάσαντες ἐκεῖνοι ἀσθενῆ εὐθὺς ἀνατρέπουσιν, ἢ καὶ νὴ Δία τοῖς τοξεύειν μελετῶσιν, οἳ κάρφη τινὰ συνδήσαντες, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ κοντοῦ πήξαντες οὐ πόρρω προθέμενοι στοχάζονται ἀφιέντες, καὶ ἢν τύχωσί ποτε καὶ διαπείρωσι τὰ κάρφη ἀνέκραγον εὐθὺς ὥς τι μέγα ποιήσαντες, εἰ διεξελήλυθεν αὐτοῖς τὸ βέλος διὰ τῶν φρυγάνων. ἀλλ' οὐ Πέρσαι γε οὕτω ποιοῦσιν οὐδὲ Σκυθῶν ὅσοι τοξόται, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὶ κινούμενοι ἀφ' ἵππων ὡς τὸ πολὺ τοξεύουσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ

LYCINUS

Well, do you suppose that at this point the adherents of Plato and Pythagoras and Epicurus and the rest will keep quiet, and not laugh out loud and say to me: "What is your friend Hermotimus doing, Lycinus? He thinks it right to believe what our opponents say about us, and supposes our views to be whatever they say they are, although they either are ignorant of the truth or conceal it. So, if he sees some athlete training before his match, kicking into the air, or punching at empty space as though he were striking his opponent, he will, if he is referee, straightway proclaim him as unbeatable, will he? Or will he consider these romps easy and devoid of risk when he has no antagonist, and adjudge him the winner only when he has overcome and beaten his opponent in the flesh and the latter gives in, and not otherwise? So do not let Hermotimus suppose from the shadow-boxing his teachers practise against us in our absence that they are strong or that our tenets are such as can be easily overthrown. For such a fabrication would be like the houses which children make: they have built them weak in structure and knock them over at once; or again indeed like men practising archery who make bundles of twigs, then fix them up on a pole which they set up at no great distance in front of them, and taking aim let fly. If ever they score a hit and pierce the twigs, they at once give a shout as though they have done something great, because their shaft has gone right through their collection of sticks. But this is not what the Persians do nor the Scythian archers. No, in the first place they themselves are usually on moving horses when they shoot, and

τὰ τοξευόμενα κινεῖσθαι ἀξιοῦσιν οὐχ ἑστῶτα οὐδὲ περιμένοντα τὸ βέλος ἔστ' ἂν ἐμπέσῃ, ἀλλὰ διαδιδράσκοντα ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα. θηρία γέ τοι ὡς τὸ πολὺ κατατοξεύουσι, καὶ ὀρνίθων ἔνιοι τυγχάνουσιν. ἢν δέ ποτε καὶ ἐπὶ σκοποῦ δέῃ πειραθῆναι τοῦ τόνου τῆς πληγῆς, ξύλον ἀντίτυπον ἢ ἀσπίδα ὠμοβοΐνην προθέμενοι διελαύνουσιν, καὶ οὕτως πιστεύουσιν κἂν δι' ὅπλων σφίσι χωρῆσαι τοὺς οἰστούς. εἰπὲ τοίνυν, ὦ Λυκῖνε, παρ' ἡμῶν Ἑρμοτίμῳ ὅτι οἱ διδάσκαλοι αὐτοῦ φρύγανα προθέμενοι κατατοξεύουσιν, εἶτά φασιν ἀνδρῶν ὡπλισμένων κεκρατηκέναι, καὶ εἰκόνας ἡμῶν γραψάμενοι πυκτεύουσι πρὸς ἐκείνας, καὶ κρατήσαντες ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς ἡμῶν κρατεῖν οἴονται. ἀλλὰ φαίημεν ἂν ἕκαστος πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἐκεῖνα, ἅ φησι περὶ τοῦ Ἕκτορος, ὅτι

οὐ γὰρ ἐμῆς κόρυθος λεύσσουσι μέτωπον.

ταῦτα μὲν οἱ ξύμπαντες ἐν τῷ μέρει ἕκαστος.

34 *Ὁ Πλάτων δ' ἄν μοι δοκεῖ καὶ διηγήσασθαί τι τῶν ἐκ Σικελίας ὡς ἂν εἰδὼς τὰ πλεῖστα· τῷ γὰρ Συρακουσίῳ Γέλωνί φασι δυσῶδες εἶναι τὸ στόμα καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολὺ διαλαθεῖν αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς τολμῶντος ἐλέγχειν τύραννον ἄνδρα, μέχρι δή τινα γυναῖκα ξένην συνενεχθεῖσαν αὐτῷ τολμῆσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅπως ἔχοι. τὸν δὲ παρὰ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐλθόντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὀργίζεσθαι ὅτι οὐκ ἐμήνυσε πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰδυῖα μάλιστα τὴν δυσωδίαν, τὴν δὲ παραιτεῖσθαι συγγνώμην ἔχειν αὐτῇ· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ μὴ πεπειρᾶσθαι ἄλλου ἀνδρὸς μηδὲ ὁμιλῆσαι πλησίον οἰηθῆναι ἅπασι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοιοῦτό τι ἀποπνεῖν τοῦ στόματος. καὶ ὁ Ἑρμότιμος τοιγα-*

secondly, they think that the targets should be moving too, not stationary and waiting for the impact of the shafts, but running about as fast as possible. They generally use wild animals as their targets, and some of them hit birds. If ever they want to test the impact of the shot on the target, they set up a hard-wood board or a raw-hide shield to pierce, and in that way they gain confidence that their arrows can even penetrate armour. So tell Hermotimus from us, Lycinus, that his teachers are setting up collections of sticks to shoot at and then saying that they have bested armed men; and that they are sparring with painted dummies which look like us, and when, as is natural, they have had the better of them they think they have the better of us. To them each of us would quote the words of Achilles about Hector:

'My helmet's front they do not see.'"[1]

This is what they all say, each in his turn.

Plato, I fancy, would add one of those stories from Sicily (he knows most of them): Gelo of Syracuse is said to have had bad breath and to have been for a long time ignorant of the fact as no one dared to criticise a tyrant, until a certain foreign woman with whom he had to do dared to tell him how it was. He went to his wife in a rage because she had not told him, although she of all people knew of the bad odour. She begged him to pardon her, for, never having had experience of another man or having been at close quarters with one, she supposed that the mouths of all men had breath like that. "So, Hermotimus,"

[1] Homer, *Il.* xvi, 70.

ροῦν ἅτε μόνοις τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς ξυνών, φαίη ἂν ὁ Πλάτων, εἰκότως ἀγνοεῖ ὁποῖα τῶν ἄλλων τὰ στόματά ἐστιν. ὅμοια δ' ἂν καὶ Χρύσιππος εἴποι ἢ ἔτι πλείω τούτων, εἴπερ λιπὼν αὐτὸν ἄκριτον ἐπὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος ὁρμήσαιμι πιστεύσας τινὶ τῶν μόνῳ Πλάτωνι ὡμιληκότων. ἑνί τε λόγῳ ξυνελὼν φημι, ἄχρι ἂν ἄδηλον ᾖ τίς ἀληθής ἐστι προαίρεσις ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, μηδεμίαν αἱρεῖσθαι. ὕβρις γὰρ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας τὸ τοιοῦτον.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

35 *Ὦ Λυκῖνε, πρὸς τῆς Ἑστίας, Πλάτωνα μὲν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Ἐπίκουρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτρεμεῖν ἐάσωμεν· οὐ γὰρ κατ' ἐμὲ ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι αὐτοῖς. νὼ δέ, ἐγώ τε καὶ σύ, ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐξετάσωμεν, εἰ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ φιλοσοφίας πρᾶγμα οἷον ἐγώ φημι αὐτὸ εἶναι. Αἰθίοπας δέ γε ἢ τὴν Γέλωνος γυναῖκα τί ἔδει καλεῖν ἐκ Συρακουσῶν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον;*

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀπίτωσαν ἐκποδών, εἴ σοι δοκοῦσι περιττοὶ εἶναι πρὸς τὸν λόγον. σὺ δὲ λέγε ἤδη. θαυμαστὸν γάρ τι ἐρεῖν ἔοικας.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ Λυκῖνε, καὶ πάνυ δυνατὸν εἶναι μόνα τὰ τῶν Στωϊκῶν ἐκμαθόντα εἰδέναι τἀληθὲς ἀπὸ τούτων, κἂν μὴ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεξέλθῃ τις ἐκμανθάνων ἕκαστα. οὑτωσὶ δὲ σκόπει· ἤν τις λέγῃ πρός σέ μόνον τοῦτο ὡς αἱ δύο δυάδες τὸν τέτταρα ἀριθμὸν ἀποτελοῦσιν, ἆρα δεήσει περι-

Plato might say, "since he mixes only with Stoics, naturally does not know what other people's mouths are like." Chrysippus could say the same or go even further, if I were to leave him unexamined and go over to Platonism, relying on one of those who had conversed with Plato alone. In short, then, I say that, as long as it is uncertain which creed of philosophy is true, choose none. For choice of one would be misconduct towards the others.

HERMOTIMUS

In Hestia's name, Lycinus, let us leave Plato and Aristotle and Epicurus and the others undisturbed, for I am no match for them. Let us, you and me, enquire into it by ourselves, whether the pursuit of philosophy is as I say it is. As for Ethiopians and Gelo's wife, why did you have to call her from Syracuse into the discussion?

LYCINUS

Why, let them take themselves off, if they seem to you to be superfluous to the discussion. You do the talking now. You look as though you are going to say something wonderful.

HERMOTIMUS

It seems to me quite possible, Lycinus, by thorough study of the Stoic doctrines alone, to know the truth from them, even if one does not pursue those of the others and make a thorough study of them in detail. Look at it this way: if someone tells you merely that two twos make the number four, will you have to go about questioning all the other mathematicians to

ιόντα σε πυνθάνεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ἀριθμητικοὶ μή τις ἄρα εἴη πέντε ἢ ἑπτὰ λέγων αὐτὰς εἶναι; ἢ αὐτίκα εἰδείης ἂν ὅτι ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀληθῆ λέγει;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Αὐτίκα, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τί ποτ' οὖν ἀδύνατον εἶναί σοι δοκεῖ, ἐντυγχάνοντά τινα μόνοις τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς λέγουσι τἀληθῆ πείθεσθαί τε αὐτοῖς καὶ μηκέτι δεῖσθαι τῶν ἄλλων εἰδότα ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε τὰ τέτταρα πέντε γένοιτο, οὐδ' ἂν μυρίοι Πλάτωνες ἢ Πυθαγόραι λέγωσιν;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

36 Οὐδὲν πρὸς ἔπος, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε. τὰ γὰρ ὁμολογούμενα τοῖς ἀμφισβητουμένοις εἰκάζεις, πάμπολυ αὐτῶν διαφέροντα. ἢ τί ἂν φαίης; ἔστιν ᾧτινι ἐντετύχηκας λέγοντι τὰς δύο δυάδας συντεθείσας τὸν ἑπτὰ ἢ ἕνδεκα ἀριθμὸν ἀποτελεῖν;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐκ ἔγωγε. ἢ μαίνοιτ' ἂν ὁ μὴ τέτταρα ξυμβαίνειν λέγων.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τί δέ, ἐντετύχηκας πώποτε (καὶ πρὸς Χαρίτων πειρῶ ἀληθεύειν) Στωϊκῷ τινι καὶ Ἐπικουρείῳ μὴ διαφερομένοις περὶ ἀρχῆς ἢ τέλους;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐδαμῶς.

see if there may not perhaps be one of them who makes it five or seven? Or would you know at once that this man is speaking the truth?

LYCINUS

At once, Hermotimus.

HERMOTIMUS

Why then does it seem to you to be impossible for a man when he meets only Stoics who speak the truth to believe them and have no further need of the others in his knowledge that four could never be five, even if thousands of Platos and Pythagorases say so?

LYCINUS

That is not to the point at all, Hermotimus. You are comparing what is admitted to what is in dispute, although they differ enormously. Or what would you say? Have you met anyone who says that by putting together two twos he makes the number seven or eleven?

HERMOTIMUS

Not I. But anyone would be mad who said the answer was not four.

LYCINUS

Well then, have you ever met (and by the Graces try to be truthful) any Stoic and Epicurean who did not differ about principles and ends?

HERMOTIMUS

In no way.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ὅρα τοίνυν μή πώς με παραλογίζῃ, ὦ γενναῖε, καὶ ταῦτα φίλον ὄντα. ζητούντων γὰρ ἡμῶν οἵτινες ἀληθεύουσιν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, σὺ τοῦτο προαρπάσας ἔδωκας φέρων τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς λέγων ὡς οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὰ δὶς δύο τέτταρα τιθέντες, ὅπερ ἄδηλον εἰ οὕτως ἔχει. φαῖεν γὰρ ἂν οἱ Ἐπικούρειοι ἢ Πλατωνικοί σφᾶς μὲν οὕτω ξυντιθέναι, ὑμᾶς δὲ πέντε ἢ ἑπτὰ λέγειν αὐτά. ἢ οὐ δοκοῦσί σοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὁπόταν ὑμεῖς μὲν μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν ἡγῆσθε εἶναι, οἱ Ἐπικούρειοι δὲ τὸ ἡδύ; καὶ ὅταν ὑμεῖς λέγητε σώματα εἶναι ἅπαντα, ὁ Πλάτων δὲ νομίζῃ καὶ ἀσώματόν τι ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν εἶναι; ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἔφην, πλεονεκτικῶς πάνυ τὸ ἀμφισβητούμενον συλλαβὼν ὡς ἀναμφιλόγως ἴδιον τῶν Στωϊκῶν δίδως αὐτοῖς ἔχειν, καίτοι ἀντιλαμβανομένων τῶν ἄλλων καὶ λεγόντων αὑτῶν τοῦτο εἶναι, ἔνθα δὴ κρίσεως μάλιστα οἶμαι δεῖ. ἂν μὲν οὖν πρόδηλον γένηται τοῦτο ὡς Στωϊκῶν ἐστι μόνων τὰ δὶς δύο τέτταρα ἡγεῖσθαι, ὥρα σιωπᾶν τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἄχρι δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ τούτου πέρι διαμάχωνται, πάντων ὁμοίως ἀκουστέον ἢ εἰδέναι ὅτι πρὸς χάριν δικάζειν δόξομεν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

37 Οὔ μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Λυκῖνε, ξυνιέναι πῶς βούλομαι εἰπεῖν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν σαφέστερον χρὴ λέγειν εἰ ἑτεροῖόν τι ἀλλὰ μὴ τοιοῦτον φήσεις.

LYCINUS

Make sure then that you are not somehow cheating me, my good sir, and that though I am your friend. For, while we are enquiring who has the truth in philosophy, you have prematurely seized on the answer and taken it and assigned it to the Stoics, when you say that they are the ones who make twice two equal four, although it is not clear that this is so. For the Epicureans and the Platonists would say that they get this result, while you Stoics call it five or seven. Or do you not think that this is what they are doing when you think that only the beautiful is good, while the Epicureans say it is pleasure? And when you say that all things are corporeal, while Plato thinks that there is an incorporeal element in what exists? No, as I said, you very arrogantly lay hold of the bone of contention as being the undisputed property of the Stoics, and give it to them to possess; and yet, when the others are asserting rival claims and saying that it is theirs, then, I think, there is every need for a judgment. If it becomes quite clear then that it is the privilege of the Stoics alone to think that twice two are four, it is time for the rest to be quiet. But as long as they contest this very claim, we must give a hearing to all alike, or realise that we shall be thought to be giving a biased judgment.

HERMOTIMUS

It seems to me, Lycinus, that you do not understand what I mean.

LYCINUS

Then you must speak more clearly, if your argument is to be different from what I say.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Εἴσῃ αὐτίκα οἷόν τι λέγω. θῶμεν γάρ τινας δύο ἐσεληλυθέναι ἐς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἢ ἐς τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ἱερόν, εἶτα μέντοι φιάλην τινὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπολωλέναι. δεήσει δή που ἀμφοτέρους ἐρευνηθῆναι αὐτοὺς ὁπότερος ὑπὸ κόλπου ἔχει τὴν φιάλην.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἔχει δὲ πάντως ὁ ἕτερος.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Πῶς γὰρ οὔ, εἴ γε ἀπόλωλεν;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν ἂν παρὰ τῷ προτέρῳ εὕρῃς αὐτήν, οὐκέτι τὸν ἕτερον ἀποδύσεις. πρόδηλον γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ἔχει.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Πρόδηλον γάρ.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ εἴ γε μὴ εὕροιμεν ἐν τῷ τοῦ προτέρου κόλπῳ ὁ ἕτερος πάντως ἔχει, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐρεύνης οὐδὲ οὕτως δεῖ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἔχει γάρ.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ ἡμεῖς τοίνυν εἰ εὕροιμεν ἤδη παρὰ τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς τὴν φιάλην, οὐκέτι ἐρευνᾶν τοὺς ἄλλους

HERMOTIMUS

You will learn at once what I mean. Let us suppose that two persons have entered the Asclepieum or the sanctuary of Dionysus, and that subsequently one of the sacred chalices is missing. It will without doubt be necessary to search both of them to find out which one of the two has the chalice in his clothing.

LYCINUS

Very true.

HERMOTIMUS

One of them surely has it.

LYCINUS

Of course, if it has disappeared.

HERMOTIMUS

And if you discover it on the first, you will not strip the other. It will be quite clear that he has not got it.

LYCINUS

Quite clear.

HERMOTIMUS

And if we were not to find it in the first one's clothing, the second man surely has it, and there is in this case too no need of a search.

LYCINUS

Yes, he has it.

HERMOTIMUS

So too in our case. Suppose we find the chalice already in the hands of the Stoics, we shall not bother to search the others, since we have what we have

ἀξιώσομεν ἔχοντες ὃ πάλαι ἐζητοῦμεν. ἢ τίνος γὰρ ἂν ἕνεκα ἔτι κάμνοιμεν;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

38 Οὐδενός, εἴ γε εὕροιτε καὶ εὑρόντες ἔχοιτε εἰδέναι ὡς ἐκεῖνο ἦν τὸ ἀπολωλός, ἢ ὅλως γνώριμον ὑμῖν εἴη τὸ ἀνάθημα. νῦν δέ, ὦ ἑταῖρε, πρῶτον μὲν οὐ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ παρελθόντες ἐς τὸν νεών, ὡς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸν ἕτερον αὐτοῖν τὰ φώρια ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ μάλα πολλοί τινες, εἶτα καὶ τὸ ἀπολόμενον αὐτὸ ἄδηλον ὅ τι ποτέ ἐστιν, εἴτε φιάλη τις ἢ σκύφος ἢ στέφανος. ὅσοι γοῦν ἱερεῖς, ἄλλος ἄλλο εἶναι λέγουσιν καὶ οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς ὕλης αὐτῆς ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν χαλκοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἀργύρου, οἱ δὲ χρυσοῦ, οἱ δὲ κασσιτέρου εἶναι αὐτὸ φάσκουσιν. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν ἅπαντας ἀποδῦσαι τοὺς εἰσελθόντας, εἰ βούλει εὑρεῖν τὸ ἀπολωλός. καὶ γὰρ ἂν παρὰ τῷ πρώτῳ εὐθὺς εὕρῃς φιάλην χρυσῆν, ἔτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σοι ἀποδυτέον.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Διὰ τί, ὦ Λυκῖνε;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ὅτι ἄδηλον εἰ φιάλη τὸ ἀπολόμενον ἦν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑπὸ πάντων ὁμολογηθείη, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε χρυσῆν ἅπαντές φασιν εἶναι τὴν φιάλην. εἰ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα γνώριμον γένοιτο ὡς φιάλη ἀπόλοιτο χρυσῆ, καὶ σὺ παρὰ τῷ πρώτῳ εὕροις φιάλην χρυσῆν, οὐδὲ οὕτω παύσῃ διερευνώμενος τοὺς ἄλλους· οὐ γὰρ δῆλόν που εἰ αὐτὴ ἦν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἢ οὐκ οἴει πολλὰς φιάλας εἶναι χρυσᾶς;

been looking for for a long time. Why should we trouble further?

LYCINUS

There is no reason, if you really find it and once having found it you can know that that is what was missing, or if you can with certainty recognise the sacred object. But in this case, my friend, those first of all who go into the temple are not two, so that one of the two must have the loot, but very many; and secondly just what the missing object is is not clear—whether it is a chalice or a cup or a garland. All the priests give different accounts of it and do not agree even about the very stuff it is made of: some say it is of copper, others of silver, others of gold, yet others of tin. So you must strip all the visitors, if you want to find the missing article. For, if you find a golden chalice straightway on the first, you must nevertheless strip the others as well.

HERMOTIMUS

Why, Lycinus?

LYCINUS

Because it is not clear that it was a chalice that was missing. And even if this be admitted by everyone, then they do not all agree that the chalice is golden. And if it is well known that a gold cup is missing, and you find a gold cup on the first man, you would not even so refrain from searching the rest—it would not be clear I suppose whether that was the one belonging to the god. Or do you not think that there are many chalices made of gold?

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἔγωγε.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Δεήσει δὴ ἐπὶ πάντας ἰέναι ἐρευνῶντα καὶ τὰ παρ' ἑκάστῳ εὑρεθέντα πάντα εἰς μέσον καταθέντα εἰκάζειν ὅ τι ποτὲ αὐτῶν πρέποι ἂν θεῖον κτῆμα οἴεσθαι.

39 Καὶ γὰρ αὖ τὸ τὴν πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρεχόμενον τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὅτι ἕκαστος τῶν ἀποδυθησομένων ἔχει τι πάντως, ὁ μὲν σκύφον, ὁ δὲ φιάλην, ὁ δὲ στέφανον, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ χαλκοῦ, ὁ δὲ ἐκ χρυσοῦ, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρου. εἰ δὲ ὃ ἔχει, τοῦτο ἱερόν ἐστιν, οὐδέπω δῆλον. πᾶσα τοίνυν ἀνάγκη ἀπορεῖν ὅντινα ἱερόσυλον εἴπῃς, ὅπου γε καὶ εἰ πάντες τὰ ὅμοια εἶχον ἄδηλον ἦν καὶ οὕτως ὅστις ὁ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑφῃρημένος—ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἰδιωτικὰ ἔχειν. τὸ δ' αἴτιον τῆς ἀγνοίας ἕν ἐστιν οἶμαι τὸ ἀνεπίγραφον εἶναι τὴν ἀπολομένην φιάλην (θῶμεν γὰρ φιάλην ἀπολωλέναι), ὡς εἴ γε ἐπεγέγραπτο τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἢ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἧττον ἂν ἐκάμνομεν καὶ εὑρόντες τὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένην ἐπεπαύμεθ' ἂν ἀποδύοντες καὶ ἐνοχλοῦντες τοὺς ἄλλους. οἶμαι δέ σε, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, καὶ ἀγῶνας ἤδη γυμνικοὺς ἑωρακέναι πολλάκις.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ ὀρθῶς οἴει. πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ πολλαχόθι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἦ οὖν ποτε καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ἀθλοθέτας αὐτοὺς ἐκαθέζου;

HERMOTIMUS

Yes, of course.

LYCINUS

You will have to go to everyone in your search, put together all that you find on each, and guess which one is likely to be the property of the god.

For this is where your great difficulty lies: each of those whom you will strip has surely something—one a cup, another a chalice, another a garland, and each of these may be of bronze, gold, or silver. And it is still not clear whether that which each man has is the holy object. So you have every reason to hesitate about whom to accuse of temple-robbery. In this case, even if all had similar objects, even so it would be uncertain who had stolen the property of the god—for these articles may be private property too. The sole reason for our ignorance, I suppose, is that the missing chalice has no inscription (assuming that it is a chalice), since if it had been inscribed with the name of the god or the person who had made the dedication we should have had less difficulty, and when we had found the inscribed chalice we should stop stripping and troubling the others. I think, Hermotimus, that you have often watched athletic contests?

HERMOTIMUS

You think rightly. Many a time, in many places.

LYCINUS

Now, have you ever sat near the judges themselves?

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Νὴ Δία, ἔναγχος Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐπὶ τὰ λαιὰ τῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν, Εὐανδρίδου τοῦ Ἠλείου θέαν μοι προκαταλαβόντος ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πολίταις· ἐπεθύμουν γὰρ ἐγγύθεν ἅπαντα ὁρᾶν τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλανοδίκαις γιγνόμενα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οἶσθα οὖν καὶ τοῦτο, πῶς κληροῦσιν ὅντινα ᾧτινι χρὴ παλαίειν ἢ παγκρατιάζειν;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οἶδα γάρ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν ἂν [1] ἄμεινον σὺ εἴποις ὡς ἐγγύθεν ἰδών.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

40 Τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἐπὶ Ἡρακλέους ἀγωνοθετοῦντος φύλλα δάφνης . . .

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Μή μοι τὰ πάλαι, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, ἃ δὲ εἶδες ἐγγύθεν, ἐκεῖνα λέγε.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Κάλπις ἀργυρᾶ πρόκειται ἱερὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐς ταύτην ἐμβάλλονται κλῆροι μικροί, ὅσον δὴ κυαμιαῖοι τὸ μέγεθος, ἐπιγεγραμμένοι. ἐγγράφεται δὲ ἐς δύο μὲν ἄλφα ἐν ἑκατέρῳ, ἐς δύο δὲ τὸ βῆτα, καὶ ἐς ἄλλους δύο τὸ γάμμα καὶ ἑξῆς κατὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἢν πλείους οἱ ἀθληταὶ ὦσι, δύο ἀεὶ κλῆροι τὸ αὐτὸ γράμμα ἔχοντες. προσελθὼν δὴ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἕκαστος προσευξάμενος τῷ Διὶ

[1] ἂν add. Jacobitz.

HERMOTIMUS

Yes, indeed. Recently at Olympia I sat to the left of the National Judges. Euandridas of Elis reserved me a seat among his fellow-citizens, for I wanted to see everything that happened among the judges from near at hand.

LYCINUS

Well, do you know this too—how they draw lots for the pairs in the wrestling or the pancratium?

HERMOTIMUS

Yes, I know.

LYCINUS

Then, since you have seen it from near at hand, you could give a better account of it than I.

HERMOTIMUS

In former times, when Heracles was judge, bay-leaves . . .

LYCINUS

Don't tell me about former times, Hermotimus, but what you saw from near at hand.

HERMOTIMUS

A silver urn dedicated to the god is placed before them. Into this are thrown small lots, the size of beans, with letters on them. Two are marked alpha, two beta, two gamma, and so on in the same way, if there are more competitors, two lots always having the same letter. Each of the competitors comes up, offers a prayer to Zeus, puts his hand into the urn,

καθεὶς τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὴν κάλπιν ἀνασπᾷ τῶν κλήρων ἕνα καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἕτερος, καὶ παρεστὼς μαστιγοφόρος ἑκάστῳ ἀνέχει αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα οὐ παρέχων ἀναγνῶναι ὅ τι τὸ γράμμα ἐστὶν ὃ ἀνέσπακεν. ἁπάντων δὲ ἤδη ἐχόντων ὁ ἀλυτάρχης οἶμαι ἢ τῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν αὐτῶν εἷς (οὐκέτι γὰρ τοῦτο μέμνημαι) περιιὼν ἐπισκοπεῖ τοὺς κλήρους ἐν κύκλῳ ἑστώτων καὶ οὕτως τὸν μὲν τὸ ἄλφα ἔχοντα τῷ τὸ ἕτερον ἄλφα ἀνεσπακότι παλαίειν ἢ παγκρατιάζειν συνάπτει, τὸν δὲ τὸ βῆτα τῷ τὸ βῆτα ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ὁμογράμμους κατὰ ταὐτά. οὕτω μέν, ἢν ἄρτιοι ὦσιν οἱ ἀγωνισταί, οἷον [1] ὀκτὼ ἢ τέτταρες ἢ δώδεκα, ἢν δὲ περιττοί, πέντε ἑπτὰ ἐννέα, γράμμα τι περιττὸν ἑνὶ κλήρῳ ἐγγραφὲν συμβάλλεται αὐτοῖς, ἀντίγραφον ἄλλο οὐκ ἔχον. ὃς δ᾽ ἂν τοῦτο ἀνασπάσῃ ἐφεδρεύει περιμένων ἔστ᾽ ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἀγωνίσωνται· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει τὸ ἀντίγραμμα. καὶ ἔστι τοῦτο οὐ μικρά τις εὐτυχία τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ, τὸ μέλλειν ἀκμῆτα τοῖς κεκμηκόσι συμπεσεῖσθαι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

41 *Ἔχ᾽ ἀτρέμας. τούτου γὰρ ἐδεόμην μάλιστα. οὐκοῦν ἐννέα ὄντες ἀνεσπάκασιν ἅπαντες καὶ ἔχουσι τοὺς κλήρους. περιιὼν δὴ (βούλομαι γάρ σε Ἑλλανοδίκην ἀντὶ θεατοῦ ποιῆσαι) ἐπισκοπεῖς τὰ γράμματα, καὶ οὐ πρότερον οἶμαι μάθοις ἂν ὅστις ὁ ἔφεδρός ἐστιν, ἢν μὴ ἐπὶ πάντας ἔλθῃς καὶ συζεύξῃς αὐτούς.*

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Πῶς, ὦ Λυκῖνε, τοῦτο φῄς;

[1] *οἷον* β, *ὅλον* γ.

and picks up one of the lots. After him another does the same. A policeman stands by each one and holds his hand, not letting him read what the letter is which he has drawn. When all now have their own, the chief police officer, I think it is, or one of the National Judges themselves (I don't remember now) goes round the competitors, who are standing in a circle, and inspects their lots. In this way he matches one who has alpha to the one who has drawn the other alpha for the wrestling or the pancratium. Similarly he matches the two betas, and the others with the same letter in the same way. This is what he does if the contestants are even in number—eight or four or twelve, for instance—but if they are odd—five or seven or nine—he throws in with the rest a lot marked with an odd letter which has no duplicate. Whoever draws this is given a bye and stands out until the rest have competed, for he has no corresponding letter. This is no small boon to the competitor—the opportunity to come fresh against tired opponents.

LYCINUS

Stop there. This is just what I wanted. Now, suppose they are nine in number and they have all drawn and are holding their lots. You go round (I want to make you a National Judge instead of a spectator) and inspect the letters. I fancy you will not learn in advance who has been given a bye, unless you go to every one of them and pair them.

HERMOTIMUS

What do you mean by this, Lycinus?

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν εὐθὺς εὑρεῖν τὸ γράμμα ἐκεῖνο τὸ δηλοῦν τὸν ἔφεδρον, ἢ τὸ μὲν γράμμα ἴσως ἂν εὕροις, οὐ μὴν εἴσῃ γε εἰ ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν· οὐ γὰρ προείρηται ὅτι τὸ Κ ἢ τὸ Μ ἢ τὸ Ι ἐστὶν τὸ χειροτονοῦν τὸν ἔφεδρον. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν τῷ Α ἐντύχῃς, ζητεῖς τὸν τὸ ἕτερον Α ἔχοντα καὶ εὑρὼν ἐκείνους μὲν ἤδη συνέζευξας, ἐντυχὼν δὲ αὖθις τῷ βῆτα τὸ ἕτερον βῆτα ὅπου ἐστὶν ζητεῖς, τὸ ἀντίπαλον τῷ εὑρεθέντι, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων ὁμοίως, ἄχρι ἂν ἐκεῖνός σοι περιλειφθῇ ὁ τὸ μόνον γράμμα ἔχων τὸ ἀνανταγώνιστον.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

42 Τί δ' εἰ ἐκείνῳ πρώτῳ ἢ δευτέρῳ ἐντύχοις,[1] τί ποιήσεις;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ σὺ ὁ Ἑλλανοδίκης ἐθέλω εἰδέναι ὅ τι καὶ πράξεις, πότερον αὐτίκα ἐρεῖς ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἔφεδρος, ἢ δεήσει ἐπὶ πάντας ἐν κύκλῳ ἐλθόντα ἰδεῖν εἴ που αὐτῷ γράμμα ὅμοιόν ἐστιν; ὡς εἴ γε μὴ τοὺς πάντων κλήρους ἴδοις οὐκ ἂν μάθοις τὸν ἔφεδρον.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ μήν, ὦ Λυκῖνε, ῥᾳδίως ἂν μάθοιμι. ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν ἐννέα ἢν τὸ Ε εὕρω πρῶτον ἢ δεύτερον, οἶδα ὅτι ἔφεδρος ὁ τοῦτο ἔχων ἐστί.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Πῶς, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε;

[1] ἐντύχοις Belinus: ἐντύχῃς MSS.

LYCINUS

It is impossible immediately to find that letter which gives you the bye, or perhaps you could find the letter, but you will certainly not know if it is that one, for there is no prior declaration of kappa or mu or iota as the letter which chooses the bye. When you find alpha, you look for the competitor who has the other alpha, and, when you find him, you have already paired them. Then again, when you come on beta, you look for the other beta, the counterpart of the one you have found, and so with all of them, until you are left with the competitor who has the only letter that has no counterpart.

HERMOTIMUS

What if you come on this one first or second, what will you do?

LYCINUS

It is not what *I* shall do. *You* are the National Judge, and I want to know what *you* will do. Will you say at once that this man is given a bye, or will you have to go round them all, to see whether there is somewhere a corresponding letter? If you did not look at the lots of everyone, you would not discover who had the bye.

HERMOTIMUS

Oh, I should know quite easily, Lycinus. In the case of nine competitors, if I find epsilon first or second, I know that the one holding this lot is the one who has the bye.

LYCINUS

How, Hermotimus?

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὕτως· τὸ Α δύο αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν καὶ τὸ Β ὁμοίως δύο, τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ τεττάρων ὄντων οἱ μὲν τὸ Γ, οἱ δὲ τὸ Δ πάντως ἀνεσπάκασιν καὶ ἀνήλωται ἤδη ἐς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ὀκτὼ ὄντας τὰ τέτταρα γράμματα. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι μόνον ἂν οὕτω περιττὸν εἴη τὸ ἑξῆς γράμμα τὸ Ε, καὶ ὁ τοῦτο ἀνεσπακὼς ἔφεδρός ἐστι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Πότερον ἐπαινέσω σε, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, τῆς συνέσεως, ἢ θέλεις ἀντείπω τά γ᾽ ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα ὁποῖα ἂν ᾖ;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Νὴ Δία. διαπορῶ μέντοι ὅ τι ἂν εὔλογον ἀντειπεῖν ἔχοις πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

43 Σὺ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἑξῆς πάντων γραφομένων γραμμάτων εἴρηκας, οἷον πρώτου τοῦ Α, δευτέρου δὲ τοῦ Β καὶ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν, ἄχρι ἂν ἐς ἓν αὐτῶν τελευτήσῃ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἀθλητῶν· καὶ δίδωμί σοι Ὀλυμπίασιν οὕτω γίγνεσθαι. τί δέ, εἰ ἐξελόντες ἀτάκτως πέντε γράμματα ἐξ ἁπάντων, τὸ Χ καὶ τὸ Σ καὶ τὸ Ζ καὶ τὸ Κ καὶ τὸ Θ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τέτταρα διπλᾶ ἐπὶ τῶν κλήρων τῶν ὀκτὼ γράφοιμεν, τὸ δὲ Ζ μόνον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνάτου, ὃ δὴ καὶ δηλοῦν ἔμελλεν ἡμῖν τὸν ἔφεδρον, τί ποιήσεις πρῶτον εὑρὼν τὸ Ζ; τῷ διαγνώσῃ ἔφεδρον ὄντα τὸν ἔχοντα αὐτό, ἢν μὴ ἐπὶ πάντας ἐλθὼν εὕρῃς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συμφωνοῦν; οὐ γὰρ εἶχες ὥσπερ νῦν τῇ τάξει αὐτῶν τεκμαίρεσθαι.

HERMOTIMUS

In this way: two have alpha, and similarly two have beta. Of the remaining four, two have surely drawn gamma and two delta, and four letters have already been used up for eight competitors. So it is clear that only the next letter, epsilon, could be odd, and he who has drawn this one gets the bye.

LYCINUS

Shall I praise you for your intelligence, or would you like me to explain the different view I have of the matter?

HERMOTIMUS

Certainly. But I fail to see what reasonable answer you can give to such an argument.

LYCINUS

You have spoken as if the letters are definitely written in order—I mean alpha first, beta second, and so on through the alphabet, until the number of competitors is completed at one of them. I grant that this is so at Olympia. But suppose we choose five letters completely at random—chi, sigma, zeta, kappa, and theta—and we write four of these twice on eight lots, but the zeta only on the ninth, which is going to show us the bye. What will you do if you find the zeta first? How can you pick out the competitor who holds it as the man for the bye, without going to all the others and finding no letter to correspond to it? You cannot, as you were just now, be sure from the alphabetical order.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Δυσαπόκριτον τοῦτο ἐρωτᾷς.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

44 Ἰδοὺ δὴ καὶ ἑτέρως τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπισκόπησον. τί γάρ εἰ μηδὲ γράμματα γράφοιμεν ἐπὶ τῶν κλήρων ἀλλά τινα σημεῖα καὶ χαρακτῆρας, οἷα πολλὰ Αἰγύπτιοι γράφουσιν ἀντὶ τῶν γραμμάτων—κυνοκεφάλους τινὰς καὶ λεοντοκεφάλους ἀνθρώπους; ἢ ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἐάσωμεν, ἐπείπερ ἀλλόκοτά ἐστι. φέρε δὲ τὰ μονοειδῆ καὶ ἁπλᾶ ἐπιγράψωμεν ὡς οἷόν τε εἰκάσαντες ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ δυοῖν κλήροιν, δύο ἵππους ἐπὶ δυοῖν καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνας δύο καὶ κύνας δύο, τῷ δὲ ἐνάτῳ λέων ἔστω τοὐπίσημον. ἢν τοίνυν τῷ λεοντοφόρῳ τούτῳ κλήρῳ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐντύχῃς, πόθεν ἕξεις εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν ἔφεδρον ποιῶν, ἢν μὴ παραθεωρήσῃς ἅπαντας ἐπιὼν εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος λέοντα ἔχει;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐκ ἔχω ὅ τι σοι ἀποκρίνωμαι, ὦ Λυκῖνε.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

45 Εἰκότως· οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐπρόσωπον οὐδέν. ὥστε ἢν ἐθέλωμεν ἢ τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν ἱερὰν φιάλην εὑρεῖν ἢ τὸν ἔφεδρον ἢ τὸν ἄριστα ἡγησόμενον ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην τὴν Κόρινθον, ἐπὶ πάντας ἀναγκαίως ἀφιξόμεθα καὶ ἐξετάσομεν ἄκρως πειρώμενοι καὶ ἀποδύοντες καὶ παραθεωροῦντες. μόλις γὰρ ἂν οὕτω τἀληθὲς ἐκμάθοιμεν. καὶ εἴ γέ τις μέλλοι σύμβουλός μοι ἀξιόπιστος ἔσεσθαι φιλοσοφίας πέρι ἥντινα φιλοσοφητέον,

HERMOTIMUS

What you ask is difficult to answer.

LYCINUS

Come now, look at the same question in another way. Suppose we wrote no letters on the lots, but signs and symbols, such as the many that the Egyptians use instead of letters—dog- and lion-headed men. What then? No, let us not use them, queer creatures that they are. No, let us write down simple, uniform symbols with as good a likeness as we can: human beings on two lots, two horses for another two, two cocks and two dogs, and for the ninth let the picture be a lion. Now, if at the beginning we find this lot with the picture of a lion, how will you be able to say that this is the one that gives the bye, unless you go to them all and compare whether another also has a lion?

HERMOTIMUS

I can give you no answer, Lycinus.

LYCINUS

Of course not; there is no plausible answer. So, if we wish to find either the man who has the sacred chalice or the bye or the man who will best lead us to that city of Corinth, we shall of necessity go to everyone and make our research, trying them carefully, and stripping and comparing. And it will be only with difficulty that we shall find the truth by this means, and if anyone is likely to give me trustworthy advice on which philosophy to pursue, only

οὗτος ἂν εἴη μόνος ὁ τὰ ὑπὸ πασῶν αὐτῶν λεγόμενα εἰδώς, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀτελεῖς, καὶ οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσαιμι αὐτοῖς, ἔστ' ἂν καὶ μιᾶς ἀπείρατοι ὦσι—τάχα γὰρ ἂν ἡ ἀρίστη ἐκείνη εἴη. οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἴ τις παραστησάμενος καλὸν ἄνθρωπον λέγοι τοῦτον εἶναι κάλλιστον ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων, πιστεύσαιμεν ἂν [1] αὐτῷ, ἢν μὴ εἰδῶμεν ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἑώρακεν. ἴσως μὲν γὰρ καὶ οὗτος καλός, εἰ δὲ πάντων κάλλιστος οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι εἰδέναι μὴ ἰδὼν ἅπαντας. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸ μόνον καλοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ καλλίστου δεόμεθα· καὶ ἢν μὴ τοῦτο εὕρωμεν, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν πλέον πεπρᾶχθαι ἡγησόμεθα. οὐ γὰρ ἀγαπήσομεν ὁποιῳδήποτε καλῷ ἐντυχόντες, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἀκρότατον ζητοῦμεν κάλλος, ὅπερ ἀνάγκη ἓν εἶναι.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

46 Ἀληθῆ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τί οὖν; ἔχεις μοί τινα εἰπεῖν ἁπάσης ὁδοῦ πεπειραμένον ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ ὃς τά τε ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Χρυσίππου καὶ Ἐπικούρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λεγόμενα εἰδὼς τελευτῶν μίαν εἵλετο ἐξ ἁπασῶν ὁδῶν ἀληθῆ τε δοκιμάσας καὶ πείρᾳ μαθὼν ὡς μόνη ἄγει εὐθὺ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας; εἰ γάρ τινα τοιοῦτον εὕροιμεν, παυσόμεθα πράγματα ἔχοντες.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐ ῥᾴδιον, ὦ Λυκῖνε, τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα εὑρεῖν.

[1] ἂν add. Jacobitz.

that man who knows what they all say will be he; the rest will fall short, and I would not put my trust in them, as long as they are unacquainted with even one philosophy—that one might be the best. If someone were to produce a handsome man and say that he was the most handsome of all men, we should certainly not believe him, unless we knew that he had seen all men. This man may well be handsome, but whether the most handsome of all he could not know, since he has not seen them all. And we are looking, not just for something beautiful, but for the most beautiful; and if we do not find it, we shall not think that we have made any progress. For we are not going to be content with any chance beauty. No, we are looking for the supreme beauty, and of that there can only be one.

HERMOTIMUS

True.

LYCINUS

Well then, can you name me a man who has tried every path in philosophy, who knows what Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Chrysippus, Epicurus, and the rest, say, and, finally, has chosen one path out of them all, has proved it genuine, and has learnt by experience that it alone leads straight to happiness? If we found such a person we should stop worrying.

HERMOTIMUS

It would not be easy to discover such a person.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

47 Τί δὴ οὖν πράξομεν, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε; οὐ γὰρ[1] ἀπαγορευτέον οἶμαι ἐπεὶ μηδενὸς ἡγεμόνος τοιούτου ἔς γε τὸ παρὸν εὐποροῦμεν. ἆρα τόδε πάντων κράτιστόν ἐστι καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον, αὐτὸν ἕκαστον ἀρξάμενον διὰ πάσης προαιρέσεως χωρῆσαι καὶ ἐπισκέψασθαι ἀκριβῶς τὰ ὑπὸ πάντων λεγόμενα;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἔοικεν ἀπό γε τούτων. πλὴν ἐκεῖνο μὴ ἐναντίον ᾖ ὃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἔλεγες, ὡς οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἐπιδόντα ἑαυτὸν καὶ πετάσαντα τὴν ὀθόνην ἀναδραμεῖν αὖθις. πῶς γὰρ οἷόν τε πάσας ἐπελθεῖν τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ, ὡς φής, κατασχεθησομένῳ;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἐγώ σοι φράσω. τὸ τοῦ Θησέως ἐκεῖνο μιμησόμεθα καί τι λίνον παρὰ τῆς τραγικῆς Ἀριάδνης λαβόντες εἴσιμεν ἐς τὸν λαβύρινθον ἕκαστον, ὡς ἔχειν ἀπραγμόνως μηρυόμενοι αὐτὸ ἐξιέναι.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τίς ἂν οὖν ἡμῖν Ἀριάδνη γένοιτ' ἂν ἢ πόθεν τοῦ λίνου εὐπορήσομεν;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Θάρρει, ὦ ἑταῖρε. δοκῶ γάρ μοι εὑρηκέναι οὗτινος ἐχόμενοι ἐξέλθοιμεν ἄν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τί οὖν τοῦτό ἐστιν;

[1] *οὐ γὰρ ἀπ.* Seager *οὐκ ἂν ἀπ.* MSS.

LYCINUS

Then what shall we do, Hermotimus? I do not think that we ought to give up because we have no such guide at the moment. Is it not the best and safest plan for everyone at the beginning to make his own way through every system and examine carefully the doctrines of each?

HERMOTIMUS

That seems to follow. But we must watch lest we meet this stumbling-block in what you said a little before. When we have once committed ourselves and spread the sail, it is not easy to return. How can we travel all the paths, if we are to be held fast in the first, as you say?

LYCINUS

I will tell you. We will copy that stratagem of Theseus and take a thread from Ariadne in the play, and then enter every labyrinth. So, by winding it up we shall have no difficulty in getting out.

HERMOTIMUS

Then who will be our Ariadne? And where shall we get our thread?

LYCINUS

Never fear, my friend. I think I have discovered what to hold on to, if we are to get out.

HERMOTIMUS

Well, what?

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκ ἐμὸν ἐρῶ ἀλλά τινος τῶν σοφῶν, τὸ "νῆφε καὶ μέμνησο ἀπιστεῖν"· ἢν γὰρ μὴ ῥᾳδίως πιστεύωμεν ἀκούοντες ἀλλὰ δικαστικῶς αὐτὸ ποιῶμεν ἀπολιπόντες καὶ τοῖς ἑξῆς λόγον, ἴσως ἂν εὐμαρῶς τοὺς λαβυρίνθους ἐκφύγοιμεν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Εὖ λέγεις, καὶ τοῦτο ποιῶμεν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

48 Εἶεν. ἐπὶ τίνα δὴ αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἔλθοιμεν ἄν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν διοίσει; ἀρξάμενοι δὲ ἀφ' ὁτουοῦν οἷον ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου ἢν οὕτω τύχῃ, πόσῳ ἂν χρόνῳ οἰόμεθα ἐκμαθεῖν τὰ Πυθαγόρου ἅπαντα; καὶ μή[1] μοι ἐξαίρει καὶ τὰ πέντε ἔτη ἐκεῖνα τὰ τῆς σιωπῆς· σὺν δ' οὖν τοῖς πέντε ἱκανὰ τριάκοντα οἶμαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ πάντως γε εἴκοσι.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Θῶμεν οὕτως.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Εἶτα ἑξῆς τῷ Πλάτωνι θετέον δηλαδὴ τοσαῦτα ἕτερα, ἔτι μὴν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει οὐκ ἐλάττω.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐ γάρ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Χρυσίππῳ δέ γε οὐκέτι ἐρήσομαί σε πόσα. οἶδα γὰρ παρὰ σοῦ ἀκούσας ὅτι τετταράκοντα μόγις ἱκανά.

[1] μή U: om. other MSS.

LYCINUS

I will tell you—it is not mine, it comes from one of the sages: "Keep sober, and remember to disbelieve." For, if we are not prepared to believe everything we hear, but rather to act like judges and let the next man have his say, perhaps we may escape the labyrinths with ease.

HERMOTIMUS

Good, let us do this.

LYCINUS

Well then, which path should we travel first? Or will this make no difference? Let us begin anywhere—with Pythagoras, for instance. If we do this, how long do we suppose we shall spend in learning all the doctrines of Pythagoras? Please do not leave out those five years of silence. Including the five years I suppose thirty years will be enough, or certainly a minimum of twenty.

HERMOTIMUS

Let us assume so.

LYCINUS

Following that, we must obviously give the same number to Plato, and not less to Aristotle.

HERMOTIMUS

No, not less.

LYCINUS

For Chrysippus, I shall not ask you how many. I know from what I have heard you say that forty will hardly suffice.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὕτως.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Εἶτα ἑξῆς Ἐπικούρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ὡς δὲ οὐ πολλὰ ταῦτα τίθημι, ἐκεῖθεν μάθοις ἄν, ἢν ἐννοήσῃς ὅσοι ὀγδοηκοντούτεις εἰσὶ Στωϊκοὶ ἢ Ἐπικούρειοι ἢ Πλατωνικοὶ ὁμολογοῦντες μὴ πάντα εἰδέναι τὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ αἱρέσεως ἕκαστος, ὡς μηδὲν ἐνδεῖν σφίσιν ἐς τὰ μαθήματα. εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ Χρύσιππός γε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Πλάτων φαῖεν ἄν, καὶ πρὸ τούτων ὁ Σωκράτης οὐδὲν φαυλότερος αὐτῶν, ὃς ἐκεκράγει πρὸς ἅπαντας οὐχ ὅπως μὴ πάντα, ἀλλὰ μηδ᾽ ὅλως εἰδέναι τι ἢ τοῦτο μόνον ὅτι οὐκ οἶδεν. λογισώμεθα οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς· εἴκοσι τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ ἐτίθεμεν, εἶτα Πλάτωνι τοσαῦθ᾽ ἕτερα, εἶτα ἑξῆς τοῖς ἄλλοις. πόσα δὴ [1] οὖν ταῦτα συντεθέντα ἐν κεφαλαίῳ γένοιτ᾽ ἄν, εἰ δέκα μόνας θεῖμεν τὰς αἱρέσεις ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ὑπὲρ διακόσια, ὦ Λυκῖνε.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Βούλει οὖν ἀφαιρῶμεν τὸ τέταρτον, ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη ἱκανὰ εἶναι, ἢ τὸ ἥμισυ ὅλον;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

49 Αὐτὸς ἂν εἰδείης ἄμεινον· ἐγὼ δὲ ὁρῶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὀλίγοι ἂν καὶ οὕτω διὰ πασῶν ἐξέλθοιεν ἐκ γενετῆς εὐθὺς ἀρξάμενοι.

[1] δὴ Bekker: δ᾽ MSS.

HERMOTIMUS

Just so.

LYCINUS

Then Epicurus in his turn, and the rest. You can realise that I do not put these figures too high, when you consider the number of Stoics, Epicureans, and Platonists, who are octogenarians, but who admit, each and every one, that they do not know all the teachings of their own sect, so as to have a thorough knowledge of its doctrines. If they did not admit it, then Chrysippus and Aristotle and Plato would, and even more would Socrates, a man not one whit their inferior: he used to shout out to the whole world not only that he did not know everything, but that he knew absolutely nothing, or only this one thing—that he did not know. Let us count them up from the beginning: we gave twenty to Pythagoras, the same to Plato, and to all the others the same. What would the total be if we assume only ten philosophical sects?

HERMOTIMUS

More than two hundred years, Lycinus.

LYCINUS

Shall we take off a quarter, and make a hundred and fifty years enough, or a whole half?

HERMOTIMUS

You would know better than I. I see this: few would get through them all even on this reckoning, if they began right from the day they were born.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τί ἂν [1] οὖν πάθοι τις, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, εἰ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα; ἢ ἀνατρεπτέον ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἤδη ὡμολογημένα—ὡς οὐκ ἄν τις ἕλοιτο ἐκ πολλῶν τὸ βέλτιστον μὴ οὐχὶ πειραθεὶς ἁπάντων; ὡς τόν γε ἄνευ πείρας αἱρούμενον μαντείᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ κρίσει τἀληθὲς ἀναζητοῦντα. οὐχ οὕτως ἐλέγομεν;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ναί.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Πᾶσα τοίνυν ἀνάγκη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον βιῶναι ἡμᾶς, εἰ μέλλοιμεν εὖ τε αἱρήσεσθαι ἁπάντων πειραθέντες καὶ ἑλόμενοι φιλοσοφήσειν καὶ φιλοσοφήσαντες εὐδαιμονήσειν. πρὶν δὲ οὕτω ποιῆσαι, ἐν σκότῳ φασὶν ὀρχοίμεθ' ἂν οἷς ἂν τύχωμεν προσπταίοντες καὶ ὅ τι ἂν πρῶτον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἔλθῃ, τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ ζητούμενον ὑπολαμβάνοντες διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τἀληθές. εἰ δὲ καὶ εὕροιμεν ἄλλως κατά τινα ἀγαθὴν τύχην περιπεσόντες αὐτῷ, οὐχ ἕξομεν βεβαίως εἰδέναι εἰ ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν ὃ ζητοῦμεν. πολλὰ γάρ ἐστιν ὅμοια αὐτοῖς, λέγοντα ἕκαστον αὐτὸ εἶναι τἀληθέστατον.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

50 Ὦ Λυκῖνε, οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως εὔλογα μὲν δοκεῖς μοι λέγειν, ἀτάρ—εἰρήσεται γὰρ τἀληθές—οὐ μετρίως ἀνιᾷς με διεξιὼν αὐτὰ καὶ ἀκριβολογούμενος οὐδὲν δέον. ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἔοικα οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ἐξεληλυθέναι τήμερον ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐντετυχη-

[1] ἂν add. Bekker.

LYCINUS

If that is the case, Hermotimus, what can we do? Must we go back on what we have already agreed—that no one can choose the best out of so many without trying them all? We agreed that to choose without putting to the test was to seek the truth more by divination than by judgment. Is that not what we said?

HERMOTIMUS

Yes.

LYCINUS

Then there is every necessity for us to live all that time, if we are going first to make a good choice when we have made trial of them all, then to practise philosophy after we have made our choice, and finally to be happy after we have practised our philosophy. Until we do this we shall be dancing in the dark, as they say, and whatever we happen to stumble on, and whatever comes first into our hands, we shall assume to be what we are after because of our ignorance of the truth. In any case even if by some good fortune we happen to fall over the truth, we shall not be able to know for sure if it is what we are after. There are many things much alike, each claiming to be the real truth.

HERMOTIMUS

I feel, Lycinus, that what you say is reasonable, but—and I shall be honest—you annoy me a great deal by this detailed examination and your unnecessary precision. It may be that it has done me no good in leaving home today and then meeting you.

κέναι σοι, ὅς με πλησίον ἤδη τῆς ἐλπίδος ὄντα εἰς ἀπορίας φέρων ἐμβέβληκας ἀδύνατον ἀποφαίνων τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν εὕρεσιν ἐτῶν γε τοσούτων δεομένην.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν, ὦ ἑταῖρε, πολὺ δικαιότερον μέμφοιο ἂν τῷ πατρί σου Μενεκράτει καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ἥτις [1] ποτὲ ἐκαλεῖτο (οὐ γὰρ οἶδα), ἢ καὶ πολὺ πρότερον τῇ φύσει ἡμῶν ὅτι σε μὴ κατὰ τὸν Τιθωνὸν πολυετῆ καὶ μακρόβιον ἔθεσαν, ἀλλὰ περιέγραψαν μὴ πλείω βιῶναι τὸ μήκιστον ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα. ἐγὼ δὲ μετὰ σοῦ σκεπτόμενος εὗρον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου ἀποβάν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

51 Οὔκ, ἀλλὰ ὑβριστὴς ἀεὶ σύ, καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι παθὼν μισεῖς φιλοσοφίαν καὶ ἐς τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας ἀποσκώπτεις.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, ἥτις μὲν ἡ ἀλήθειά ἐστιν ὑμεῖς ἂν ἄμεινον εἴποιτε οἱ σοφοί, σύ τε καὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος. ἐγὼ δὲ τό γε τοσοῦτον οἶδα, ὡς οὐ πάνυ ἡδεῖά ἐστιν αὐτὴ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ἀλλὰ παρευδοκιμεῖται ὑπὸ τοῦ ψεύδους παρὰ πολύ. εὐπροσωπότερον γὰρ ἐκεῖνο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἥδιον, ἡ δὲ ἅτε μηδὲν κίβδηλον ἑαυτῇ συνειδυῖα μετὰ παρρησίας διαλέγεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄχθονται αὐτῇ. ἰδού γέ τοι, καὶ σὺ νῦν ἄχθῃ μοι τἀληθὲς ἐξευρόντι περὶ τούτων μετὰ σοῦ καὶ δηλώσαντι οἵων ἐρῶμεν ἐγώ τε καὶ σύ, ὡς οὐ πάνυ ῥᾳδίων.

[1] ἥτις β: εἴ τις γ.

I was already near the fulfilment of my hopes, but you have thrown me into difficulties with your demonstration that the search for truth is impossible since it needs all those years.

LYCINUS

Surely it would be much fairer, my friend, to blame your father, Menecrates, and your mother, whatever her name was (I do not know) or before them our human natures for having made you (unlike Tithonus) of few years and short life, and for decreeing a hundred years as the longest life for man All I did was with your help to consider and discover the conclusions of the argument.

HERMOTIMUS

That is not so. You always lord it over us. I don't know what makes you hate philosophy and mock philosophers.

LYCINUS

What truth is, Hermotimus, you wise men can say better than I—you and your master I mean. For myself I know thus much: truth is not all pleasant to listen to; in estimation it is far outfamed by falsehood. Falsehood presents a fairer face, and is therefore more pleasant, while truth knows no deceit and speaks with freedom to men, and for this they take offence. Look at us: you now take offence with me for discovering the truth of these matters with your help and showing that what you and I are in love with is not easy at all. Suppose you had happened to be

ὥσπερ εἰ ἀνδριάντος ἐρῶν ἐτύγχανες καὶ ᾤου τεύξεσθαι ὑπολαμβάνων ἄνθρωπον εἶναι, ἐγὼ δὲ κατιδὼν ὡς λίθος ἢ χαλκὸς εἴη ἐμήνυσα πρός σε ὑπ' εὐνοίας ὅτι ἀδυνάτων ἐρᾷς, καὶ τότε δύσνουν ἐμὲ εἶναι ᾤου ἂν σαυτῷ διότι σε οὐκ εἴων ἐξαπατᾶσθαι ἀλλόκοτα καὶ ἀνέλπιστα ἐλπίζοντα.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

52 Οὐκοῦν τοῦτο, ὦ Λυκῖνε, φής, ὡς οὐ φιλοσοφητέον ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ χρὴ ἀργίᾳ παραδιδόντας αὑτοὺς ἰδιώτας καταβιῶναι;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ ποῦ τοῦτο ἤκουσας ἐμοῦ λέγοντος; ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐχ ὡς οὐ φιλοσοφητέον φημί, ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ φιλοσοφητέον ὁδοί τε πολλαί εἰσιν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἑκάστη καὶ ἀρετὴν ἄγειν φάσκουσαι, ἡ δ' ἀληθὴς ἐν αὐταῖς ἄδηλος, ἀκριβῆ ποιήσασθαι τὴν διαίρεσιν. ἀδύνατον δέ γε ἡμῖν ἐφαίνετο πολλῶν προτεθέντων ἑλέσθαι τὸ ἄριστον εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ πάντα ἴοι τις πειρώμενος· εἶτά πως μακρὰ ἡ πεῖρα ὤφθη. σὺ δὲ πῶς ἀξιοῖς; αὖθις γὰρ ἐρήσομαι—ὅτῳ ἂν πρώτῳ ἐντύχῃς, τούτῳ ἕψῃ καὶ συμφιλοσοφήσεις κἀκεῖνος ἕρμαιον ποιήσεταί σε;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

53 Καὶ τί σοι ἀποκριναίμην ἂν ἔτι, ὃς οὔτε αὐτόν τινα κρίνειν οἷόν τε εἶναι φής, ἢν μὴ φοίνικος ἔτη βιώσῃ πάντας ἐν κύκλῳ περιιὼν καὶ πειρώμενος οὔτε τοῖς προπεπειραμένοις πιστεύειν ἀξιοῖς οὔτε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐπαινοῦσιν καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν;

in love with a statue and, thinking it to be human, hoped to win it, and suppose I saw it was stone or bronze and told you out of friendship that your love was impossible, you would in that case too think that I was an enemy, because I had not let you be deceived when you hoped for what was monstrous and beyond your reach.

HERMOTIMUS

Then this is what you say, Lycinus, that we must not study philosophy, but give ourselves up to idleness and live out our lives as laymen?

LYCINUS

When have you heard me say that? What I say is not that we must not study philosophy, but that since we must, and as there are many paths to philosophy and each one claims that it leads to virtue, and the true one is not clear, we must be careful in our choice. But with so many before us we saw it was impossible to choose the best unless we were to visit and test every path. Then the trial was seen to be somewhat lengthy. Now what do you think? I will ask you again—will you follow the first guide you light on and join him in his study while he takes you for a lucky gift from heaven?

HERMOTIMUS

What answer could I give you now, when you say that no one can judge for himself, unless he lives as long as a phoenix and goes the full round testing all the philosophers, and when you do not see fit to trust those who have made the test before you or the many who give their praise and their testimony?

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τίνας φῂς τοὺς πολλοὺς εἰδότας καὶ πεπειραμένους ἁπάντων; εἰ γάρ τις τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, ἱκανὸς ἔμοιγε καὶ εἷς, καὶ οὐκέτι πολλῶν δεήσει. ἢν δὲ τοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας λέγῃς, οὐδέν τι τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν προσάξεταί με πιστεύειν ἄχρι ἂν ἢ μηδὲν ἢ ἓν εἰδότες περὶ ἁπάντων ἀποφαίνωνται.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Μόνος δὲ σὺ τἀληθὲς κατεῖδες, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀνόητοι ἅπαντες ὅσοι φιλοσοφοῦσιν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καταψεύδῃ μου, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, λέγων ὡς ἐγὼ προτίθημί πῃ ἐμαυτὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἢ τάττω ὅλως ἐν τοῖς εἰδόσι, καὶ οὐ μνημονεύεις ὧν ἔφην, οὐκ αὐτὸς εἰδέναι τἀληθὲς ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους διατεινόμενος ἀλλὰ μετὰ πάντων αὐτὸ ἀγνοεῖν ὁμολογῶν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

54 Ἀλλ', ὦ Λυκῖνε, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ πάντας ἐλθεῖν χρῆναι καὶ πειραθῆναι ὧν φασι καὶ τὸ μὴ ἂν ἄλλως ἑλέσθαι τὸ βέλτιον ἢ οὕτως, εὔλογον ἴσως, τὸ δὲ τῇ πείρᾳ ἑκάστῃ τοσαῦτα ἔτη ἀποδιδόναι, παγγέλοιον, ὥσπερ οὐχ οἷόν τε ὂν ἀπ' ὀλίγων καταμαθεῖν τὰ πάντα. ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ πάνυ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ οὐ πολλῆς διατριβῆς δεόμενον. φασί γέ τοι τῶν πλαστῶν τινα, Φειδίαν οἶμαι, ὄνυχα μόνον λέοντος ἰδόντα ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἀναλελογίσθαι, ἡλίκος ἂν ὁ πᾶς λέων γένοιτο κατ'

LYCINUS

Who are these many who know and have tested them all? If any such person really exists, one is quite enough for me, and there will be no need of many. But if you mean those who do not know, the number of them will in no way induce me to trust them, as long as they make declarations about all the systems when they know nothing or only one.

HERMOTIMUS

You alone have seen the truth, all the others who study philosophy are fools.

LYCINUS

You wrong me, Hermotimus, when you say that I somehow put myself before other people or in general rank myself in some way with those who know. You do not remember what I said. I did not maintain that I knew the truth more than other people. No, I admitted that like all men I was ignorant of it.

HERMOTIMUS

Well, Lycinus, the obligation to go round them all, making trial of what they say, and the superiority of this method of choosing are perhaps reasonable, but it is quite ridiculous to spend so many years on each test, as if it were not possible to get a thorough knowledge of the whole from a scrutiny of a small part. This sort of thing seems to me to be quite easy, needing little time. At least, they say that some sculptor (Phidias, I think) saw only the claw of a lion and from it estimated the size of the whole animal on the assumption that it was modelled on the

ἀξίαν τοῦ ὄνυχος ἀναπλασθείς. καὶ σὺ δέ, ἤν τίς σοι χεῖρα μόνην ἀνθρώπου δείξῃ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα κατακαλύψας, εἴσῃ, οἶμαι, αὐτίκα ὅτι ἄνθρωπός ἐστι τὸ κεκαλυμμένον, κἂν μὴ τὸ πᾶν σῶμα ἴδῃς. καὶ τοίνυν τὰ μὲν κεφαλαιώδη ὧν ἅπαντες λέγουσι, ῥᾴδιον καταμαθεῖν ἐν ὀλίγῳ μορίῳ ἡμέρας, τὸ δὲ ὑπερακριβὲς τοῦτο καὶ μακρᾶς τῆς ἐξετάσεως δεόμενον οὐ[1] πάνυ ἀναγκαῖον ἐς τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ βελτίονος, ἀλλ' ἔστι κρῖναι καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

55 Παπαί, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, ὡς ἰσχυρὰ ταῦτα εἴρηκας ἀπὸ τῶν μερῶν ἀξιῶν τὰ ὅλα εἰδέναι. καίτοι ἐγὼ τὰ ἐναντία ἀκούσας μέμνημαι ὡς ὁ μὲν τὸ ὅλον εἰδὼς εἰδείη ἂν καὶ τὸ μέρος, ὁ δὲ μόνον τὸ μέρος οὐκέτι καὶ τὸ ὅλον. οὕτως καί μοι τόδε ἀπόκριναι· ὁ Φειδίας ἄν ποτε ἰδὼν ὄνυχα λέοντος ἔγνω ἂν ὅτι λέοντός ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ ἑωράκει ποτὲ λέοντα ὅλον; ἢ σὺ ἀνθρώπου χεῖρα ἰδὼν ἔσχες ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ μὴ πρότερον εἰδὼς μηδὲ ἑωρακὼς ἄνθρωπον; τί σιγᾷς; ἢ βούλει ἐγὼ ἀποκρίνωμαι ὑπὲρ σοῦ τά γε ἀναγκαῖα ὅτι οὐκ ἂν εἶχες; ὥστε κινδυνεύει ὁ Φειδίας ἄπρακτος ἀπεληλυθέναι μάτην ἀναπλάσας τὸν λέοντα· οὐδὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον ὦπται[2] λέγων. ἢ πῶς ταῦτα ἐκείνοις ὅμοια; τῷ μὲν γὰρ Φειδίᾳ καὶ σοὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο τοῦ γνωρίζειν τὰ μέρη αἴτιον ἦν ἢ τὸ εἰδέναι τὸ ὅλον—ἄνθρωπον λέγω καὶ λέοντα· ἐν

[1] *οὐ* edd.: *καὶ* MSS.
[2] *ὦπται* anon. conjecture: *ὦ παῖ* MSS.

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[1] *I.e.*, irrelevant. Epigenes of Sicyon, a tragic poet, is said to have been upbraided by his audience for introducing into

same scale as the claw. You too, if you were shown only the hand of a man, the rest of the body being hidden, would, I suppose, know at once that the hidden figure was a human being, even though you did not see the whole body. So in a fraction of a day it is easy to acquire a good knowledge of the essential points of all the systems, and this precise enquiry which calls for lengthy research is quite unnecessary for choosing that which is preferable. No, you can make a judgment from samples.

LYCINUS

Goodness, Hermotimus, how sure you sound when you affirm that you can know the whole from the parts! And yet I remember hearing just the opposite, that if you know the whole you know the part as well, while if you know only the part, you cannot then know the whole as well. Tell me this: would Phidias when he saw the lion's claw ever have known that it belonged to a lion, if he had never seen a whole lion? If you saw a human hand, could you have said that it belonged to a man if you had not previously known or seen a man? Why do you not answer? Am I to give the only possible answer for you, that you could not have said it? It looks as though Phidias has retired unsuccessful and has modelled his lion in vain; clearly he is saying what has nothing to do with Dionysus! [1] Or what comparison is there? Both Phidias and you yourself had no other means of recognising the parts than your knowledge of the whole—I mean the whole man

the worship of Dionysus themes which had nothing to do with the god.

φιλοσοφίᾳ δέ, οἷον τῇ Στωϊκῶν, πῶς ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἴδοις; ἢ πῶς ἂν ἀποφαίνοιο ὡς καλά; οὐ γὰρ οἶσθα τὸ ὅλον οὗ μέρη ἐκεῖνά ἐστιν.

56 Ὃ δὲ φής, ὅτι τὰ κεφάλαια ῥᾴδιον ἀκοῦσαι ἁπάσης φιλοσοφίας ἐν ὀλίγῳ μορίῳ ἡμέρας (οἷον ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τέλη καὶ τί θεοὺς οἴονται εἶναι, τί ψυχήν, καὶ τίνες μὲν σώματα πάντα φασί, τίνες δὲ καὶ ἀσώματα εἶναι ἀξιοῦσι, καὶ ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἡδονήν, οἱ δὲ τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὔδαιμον τίθενται καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα) οὑτωσὶ μὲν ἀκούσαντας ἀποφήνασθαι ῥᾴδιον καὶ ἔργον οὐδέν· εἰδέναι δὲ ὅστις ὁ τἀληθῆ λέγων ἐστίν, ὅρα μὴ οὐχὶ μορίου ἐστὶν ἡμέρας ἀλλὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν δέηται. ἢ τί γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι παθόντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων ἑκατοντάδας καὶ χιλιάδας βιβλίων ἕκαστοι συγγεγράφασιν, ὡς πείσαιεν οἶμαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ ὀλίγα ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἅ σοι δοκεῖ ῥᾴδια καὶ εὐμαθῆ; νῦν δὲ μάντεως οἶμαι δεήσει σοι κἀνταῦθα πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν κρειττόνων, εἰ μὴ ἀνέχῃ τὴν διατριβήν ὡς ἀκριβῶς ἑλέσθαι, αὐτὸς ἅπαντα καὶ ὅλον ἕκαστον κατανοήσας. ἐπίτομος γὰρ αὕτη γένοιτ' ἄν, οὐκ ἔχουσα περιπλοκὰς οὐδ' ἀναβολάς, εἰ μεταστειλάμενος τὸν μάντιν ἀκούσας τῶν κεφαλαίων ἁπάντων σφαγιάζοιο ἐφ' ἑκάστοις·[1] ἀπαλλάξει γάρ σε ὁ θεὸς μυρίων πραγμάτων δείξας ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἱερείου ἥπατι ἅτινά σοι αἱρετέον.

57 Εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀπραγμονέστερον ὑποθήσομαί σοι, ὡς μὴ ἱερεῖα καταθύῃς ταυτὶ καὶ θυσιάζῃς τῳ [2] μηδὲ ἱερέα τινὰ τῶν μεγαλομίσθων παρακαλῇς, ἀλλὰ ἐς κάλπιν ἐμβαλὼν γραμμάτια

[1] ἑκάστοις edd.: ἑκάστης MSS.

and lion; and in a philosophy (the Stoic, for instance) how can you by knowing a part see the rest as well? How can you prove the rest beautiful? You see, you do not know the whole of which they are parts.

As to your contention that it is easy in a small part of a day to hear the essentials of all philosophies (I suppose you mean their principles and ends, their views of the gods and the soul, who say that everything is corporeal, who assert that immaterial things also exist, the fact that some identify "pleasure," others "the beautiful" with goodness and happiness, and so on), after a hearing of this sort it is easy and no trouble to state the facts; but to know which is the one that is telling the truth will surely require not part of a day but many days. If not, why on earth have they all written books by the hundreds and thousands on these very subjects, to prove the truth, I suppose, of these very parts, those few parts, which you think easy and soon learnt? Here too, I fancy, you will have need of a prophet to help you choose the best, unless you spend time on accurate selection and make a personal and detailed study of all and everything. It would certainly be a short cut with no complications or delays if you sent for a prophet, listened to the essentials of them all, and sacrificed for each one: the god will save you a great deal of trouble if he reveals in the victim's liver the choice you must make.

I will, if you like, suggest another, less troublesome way, without this slaughter of victims or sacrifice to anybody or calling in one of these expensive priests: put some tablets into a pitcher with the name

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[2] θυσιάζῃς τῳ Lehmann: θυσιάζῃ τῷ N: θυσίας ζητῶν Γ.

ἔχοντα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἑκάστου τοὔνομα κέλευε παῖδα—τῶν ἀνήβων ἀμφιθαλῆ τινα—προσελθόντα πρὸς τὴν κάλπιν ἀνελέσθαι ὅ τι ἂν πρῶτον ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖρα ἔλθῃ τῶν γραμματίων, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν κατὰ τὸν λαχόντα ἐκεῖνον ὅστις ἂν ᾖ φιλοσόφει.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

58 Ταυτὶ μέν, ὦ Λυκῖνε, βωμολοχικὰ καὶ οὐ κατά σε. σὺ δὲ εἰπέ μοι· ἤδη ποτὲ οἶνον ἐπρίω αὐτός;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα πολλάκις.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἆρ᾽ οὖν περιῄεις ἅπαντας ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καπήλους ἀπογευόμενος καὶ παραβάλλων καὶ ἀντεξετάζων τοὺς οἴνους;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐδαμῶς.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Χρὴ γὰρ οἶμαί σοι τῷ πρώτῳ χρηστῷ καὶ ἀξίῳ ἐντυχόντι ἀποφέρεσθαι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Νὴ Δία.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ ἀπό γε τοῦ ὀλίγου ἐκείνου γεύματος εἶχες ἂν εἰπεῖν ὁποῖος ἅπας ὁ οἶνός ἐστιν;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Εἶχον γάρ.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Εἰ δὲ δὴ ἔλεγες προσελθὼν τοῖς καπήλοις, Ἐπειδὴ κοτύλην πρίασθαι βούλομαι, δότε μοι, ὦ

of each of the philosophers on them, and tell a boy—a young lad with both parents living—to go to the pitcher and pick out whichever tablet he first touches with his hand; then all you have to do is to study the philosophy of the one whose lot he has picked.

HERMOTIMUS

This is mere burlesque and not like you. Now *you* tell me: have you ever bought wine yourself?

LYCINUS

Of course, many a time.

HERMOTIMUS

Then did you go round all the wine-merchants of the city in turn, tasting and comparing and judging the wines?

LYCINUS

Not at all.

HERMOTIMUS

I think that you must take away the first wine you come to that is good and satisfactory.

LYCINUS

Certainly.

HERMOTIMUS

Could you have said from that brief tasting what was the quality of the whole?

LYCINUS

Yes.

HERMOTIMUS

If you had approached the wine-merchants and said: "I wish to buy half a pint of wine; each of

οὗτοι, ἐκπιεῖν ὅλον ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὸν πίθον, ὡς διὰ παντὸς ἐπεξελθὼν μάθοιμι ὅστις ἀμείνω τὸν οἶνον ἔχει καὶ ὅθεν μοι ὠνητέον. εἰ ταῦτα ἔλεγες, οὐκ ἂν οἴει καταγελάσαι σου αὐτούς, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐνοχλοίης τάχα ἂν καὶ προσχέαι τοῦ ὕδατος;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οἶμαι ἔγωγε καὶ δίκαιά γ' ἂν πάθοιμι.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Κατὰ ταὐτὰ δὴ καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ. τί δεῖ ἐκπιεῖν τὸν πίθον δυναμένους γε ἀπ' ὀλίγου τοῦ γεύματος εἰδέναι ὁποῖον τὸ πᾶν ἐστιν;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

59 Ὡς ὀλισθηρὸς εἶ, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, καὶ διαδιδράσκεις ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν. πλὴν ἀλλὰ ὤνησάς γε· οἰόμενος γὰρ ἐκπεφευγέναι ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν κύρτον ἐμπέπτωκας.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Πῶς τοῦτο ἔφης;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ὅτι αὐθομολογούμενον πρᾶγμα λαβὼν καὶ γνώριμον ἅπασι τὸν οἶνον εἰκάζεις αὐτῷ τὰ ἀνομοιότατα καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀμφισβητοῦσιν ἅπαντες ἀφανῶν ὄντων. ὥστε ἔγωγε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν καθ' ὅ τι σοι ὅμοιος φιλοσοφία καὶ οἶνος, εἰ μὴ [1] ἄρα κατὰ τοῦτο μόνον, ὅτι καὶ οἱ φιλόσοφοι ἀποδίδονται τὰ μαθήματα ὥσπερ οἱ κάπηλοι—κερασάμενοί γε οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ δολώσαντες καὶ κακομετροῦντες.

[1] εἰ μὴ Lehmann : εἴη MSS. : εἴη, εἰ μὴ Solanus.

you give me, please, the whole jar to drink, so that when I have drained it all I may learn who has the better wine and who is to receive my custom"—if you had said this, do you not think that they would have laughed at you, and if you troubled them further, you might have had a jug of water poured on you?

LYCINUS

I do think so, and I should deserve it.

HERMOTIMUS

Apply the same consideration to philosophy. Why drain a butt when the tasting of a little can indicate the quality of the whole?

LYCINUS

How slippery you are, Hermotimus! And how you glide through my fingers! But you have helped us: you thought you had got away, but you have fallen into the same net.

HERMOTIMUS

What do you mean?

LYCINUS

You take an object which is quite self-evident and which is known to everyone, wine, and you compare to it things that are unlike and the object of universal dispute, they are so uncertain. I certainly cannot say how in your view philosophy and wine are comparable, except perhaps at this one point that philosophers sell their lessons as wine-merchants their wines—most of them adulterating and cheating and

οὑτωσὶ δὲ ἐπισκοπήσωμεν ὅ τι καὶ λέγεις· τὸν οἶνον φὴς τὸν ἐν τῷ πίθῳ ὅλον αὐτὸν αὑτῷ ὅμοιον εἶναι, καὶ μὰ Δί' οὐδὲν ἄτοπον. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις γεύσαιτο ἀρυσάμενος ὀλίγον ὅσον αὐτοῦ, εἴσεσθαι αὐτίκα ὁποῖος ἅπας ὁ πίθος ἐστίν, ἀκόλουθον καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν ἔγωγέ τι ἀντεῖπον. ὅρα δὴ καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο· φιλοσοφία καὶ οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες οἷον ὁ διδάσκαλος ὁ σός, ἆρα ταὐτὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγει ὁσημέραι καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἢ ἄλλα ἄλλοτε; πολλὰ γάρ ἐστι, πρόδηλον, ὦ ἑταῖρε. ἢ οὐκ ἂν εἴκοσιν ἔτη [1] παρέμενες αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα περινοστῶν καὶ περιπλανώμενος, εἰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπέχρη ἄν σοι καὶ ἅπαξ ἀκούσαντι.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

60 Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Πῶς οὖν οἷόν τέ σοι ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου γεύματος εἰδέναι τὰ πάντα; οὐ γὰρ τὰ αὐτά γε, ἀλλὰ ἀεὶ ἕτερα καινὰ ἐπὶ καινοῖς ἐλέγετο, οὐχ ὥσπερ ὁ οἶνος ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν. ὥστε, ὦ ἑταῖρε, ἢν μὴ ὅλον ἐκπίῃς τὸν πίθον, ἄλλως μεθύων περίει· [2] ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ἐν τῷ πυθμένι δοκεῖ μοι ὁ θεὸς κατακρύψαι τὸ φιλοσοφίας ἀγαθὸν ὑπὸ τὴν τρύγα αὐτήν. δεήσει οὖν ὅλον ἐξαντλῆσαι ἐς τέλος, ἢ οὔποτ' ἂν εὕροις τὸ νεκτάρεον ἐκεῖνο πόμα, οὗ πάλαι διψῆν μοι δοκεῖς. σὺ δὲ οἴει τὸ τοιοῦτον αὐτὸ εἶναι, ὡς εἰ μόνον γεύσαιο αὐτοῦ καὶ σπάσαις μικρὸν ὅσον, αὐτίκα σε πάνσοφον γενησόμενον

[1] εἴκοσιν ἔτη Solanus: εἰκὸς ἔτι MSS.

giving false measure. Now let us examine your logic. You say that all the wine in a butt is the same, the whole measure; that is certainly not unreasonable. Now if you care to draw ever so little of it and take a taste, you say you would know at once the quality of the whole butt; this too follows and I would not deny it. Look at what comes next: do philosophy and these who, like your teacher, study philosophy say the same things to you on the same topics every day, or different things on different days? It is quite clear, my friend, that there are many different topics; you would not have stayed with him twenty years like an Odysseus in your wanderings and journeying, if he had said the same things all the time, but you would have been satisfied with one hearing.

HERMOTIMUS

Of course.

LYCINUS

Then how could you have known the whole from just the first taste? There were not the same, but always new things being said on new subjects, unlike wine, which is always the same. So, my friend, unless you drink the whole butt, your tipsiness has been to no purpose; god seems to me to have hidden the good of philosophy right down at the bottom beneath the very lees. You will have to drain it all to the end or you will never find that divine drink for which I think you have long thirsted. But you imagine it to be such that, if you were but to taste and draw just a drop, you would at once become all-

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[2] *ἄλλως μεθύων περίει* Fritzsche: *καὶ ἄλλως μεθύων περιήεις* MSS.

ὥσπερ φασὶν ἐν Δελφοῖς τὴν πρόμαντιν, ἐπειδὰν πίῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ νάματος, ἔνθεον εὐθὺς γίγνεσθαι καὶ χρᾶν τοῖς προσιοῦσιν. ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχειν ἔοικε· σύ γ' οὖν ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ τοῦ πίθου ἐκπεπωκὼς
61 *ἐνάρχεσθαι ἔτι ἔλεγες. ὅρα τοίνυν μὴ τῷδε μᾶλλον φιλοσοφία ἔοικεν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πίθος ἔτι μενέτω σοι καὶ ὁ κάπηλος, ἐνέστω δὲ μὴ οἶνος, ἀλλὰ πανσπερμία τις, πυρὸς ὑπεράνω καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον κύαμοι, εἶτα κριθαὶ καὶ ὑπὸ ταύταις φακοί, εἶτα ἐρέβινθοι καὶ ἄλλα ποικίλα. πρόσει δὴ σὺ ὠνήσασθαι ἐθέλων τῶν σπερμάτων, καὶ ὃς ἀφελὼν τοῦ πυροῦ, οὗπερ ἦν, ἀνέδωκέ σοι δεῖγμα ἐς τὴν χεῖρα, ὡς ἴδοις, ἆρα οὖν ἔχοις ἂν εἰπεῖν εἰς ἐκεῖνο ἀποβλέπων εἰ καὶ οἱ ἐρέβινθοι καθαροὶ καὶ οἱ φακοὶ εὐτακεῖς καὶ οἱ κύαμοι οὐ διάκενοι;*

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐδαμῶς.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐ *τοίνυν οὐδὲ φιλοσοφίαν ἀφ' ἑνὸς ὧν φήσει τις τοῦ πρώτου, μάθοι ἂν ἅπασαν ὁποία ἐστίν· οὐ γὰρ ἕν τι ἦν ὥσπερ ὁ οἶνος, ᾧπερ σὺ αὐτὴν ἀπεικάζεις ἀξιῶν ὁμοίαν εἶναι τῷ γεύματι, τὸ δὲ ἑτεροῖόν τι ὤφθη οὐ παρέργου τῆς ἐξετάσεως δεόμενον. οἶνον μὲν γὰρ φαῦλον πρίασθαι ἐν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ὁ κίνδυνος, αὐτὸν δέ τινα ἐν τῷ συρφετῷ παραπολεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔφησθα, οὐ μικρὸν εἶναι κακόν. ἄλλως τε ὁ μὲν ὅλον ἀξιῶν ἐκπιεῖν τὸν πίθον, ὡς κοτύλην πρίαιτο, ζημιώσαι ἂν τὸν κάπηλον οὕτως ἀπίθανα γευόμενος, φιλοσοφία δὲ οὐδὲν ἂν τοιοῦτο πάθοι, ἀλλὰ*

wise, as, they say, the prophetess at Delphi becomes inspired as soon as she drinks of the sacred spring and gives her answers to those who consult the oracle. But it seems it is not so: you had drunk over half the butt, and you said that you were still at the beginning. Perhaps philosophy is more like this: still keep your butt and your dealer, but no wine; rather take an assortment of cereals—wheat on top, then beans, then barley, and, beneath the barley, lentils, then chick-peas, and other kinds of seeds as well. You come in wishing to buy some of the cereals. He has taken out a pinch of the wheat from where the wheat was and has given you a sample in your hand to examine. Now could you say by looking at that sample whether the peas were pure, the lentils tender, and the beans not completely empty?

HERMOTIMUS

Not at all.

LYCINUS

Then neither could you learn the nature of all philosophy from the first thing someone says. For it is not really one substance like the wine to which you compare it, claiming that it is like the sample. No, we have seen that there is variation in it, for which a cursory examination will not do. If you buy bad wine you risk a couple of pence, but to rot in the common herd oneself, as you said in the beginning, is very serious. Besides, to insist on drinking the whole butt in order to buy half a pint is to cause loss to the wine-merchant with your unbelieving tasting. But in philosophy there would be no such loss. No, however much you drink, the butt

κἂν ὅτι πάμπολλα πίῃς, οὐδέν τι ἐλάττων ὁ πίθος γίγνεται οὐδὲ ζημιώσεται ὁ κάπηλος. ἐπιρρεῖ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξαντλούμενον ἐς τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἢ ὁ τῶν Δαναΐδων πίθος. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἐμβαλλόμενον οὐ συνεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ διέρρει εὐθύς. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἢν ἀφέλῃς τι, πλεῖον τὸ λοιπὸν
62 γίγνεται.

Ἐθέλω δέ σοι καὶ ἄλλο ὅμοιον εἰπεῖν φιλοσοφίας περὶ γεύματος, καὶ μή με νομίσῃς βλασφημεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς ἢν εἴπω ὅτι φαρμάκῳ ὀλεθρίῳ ἔοικεν, οἷον κωνείῳ ἢ ἀκονίτῳ ἢ ἄλλῳ τῶν τοιούτων. οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτα, ἐπείπερ θανατηφόρα ἐστίν, ἀποκτείνειεν ἄν, εἴ τις ὀλίγον ὅσον ἀκαριαῖον ἀποξύσας αὐτῶν ἄκρῳ τῷ ὄνυχι ἀπογεύσαιτο· ἀλλὰ ἢν μὴ τοσοῦτον ὅσον χρή, καὶ ὅπως καὶ ξὺν οἷς, οὐκ ἂν ἀποθάνοι ὁ προσενεγκάμενος· σὺ δὲ ἠξίους τοὐλάχιστον ἐξαρκεῖν, ὡς ἀποτελέσαι τὴν τοῦ ὅλου γνῶσιν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

63 Ἔστω ταῦτα ὡς βούλει, Λυκῖνε. τί οὖν; ἑκατὸν χρὴ ἔτη βιῶναι καὶ τοσαῦτα ὑπομεῖναι πράγματα; ἢ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως φιλοσοφήσαιμεν;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐ γάρ, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε· καὶ δεινὸν οὐδέν, εἴ γε ἀληθῆ ἔλεγες ἐν ἀρχῇ, ὡς ὁ μὲν βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρή. νῦν δὲ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι παθὼν ἀγανακτεῖς, εἰ μὴ αὐθημερὸν ἡμῖν πρὶν δῦναι ἥλιον Χρύσιππος ἢ Πλάτων ἢ Πυθαγόρας γένοιο.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Περιέρχῃ με, ὦ Λυκῖνε, καὶ συνελαύνεις ἐς στενὸν οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δεινὸν παθών, ὑπὸ φθόνου

is just as full and the wine-merchant will not suffer loss. For, in the words of the proverb, the more you draw the fuller it becomes. The case is the reverse of the butt of the Danaïdae that would not hold what was put into it but let it run away at once. Take some away from philosophy, however, and what is left increases.

But I want to tell you another, similar thing, about sampling philosophy, and do not think that I am being blasphemous about it if I say that it is like a deadly poison—hemlock, for example, or aconite, or some other such. Not even they, deadly though they are, will kill, if you scrape off a tiny piece with the tip of your nail and taste that. No, if the quantity, method of consumption, and mixture are wrong, you can take it and not die. You claimed, however, that the tiniest piece was quite enough to give you a complete knowledge of what the whole was like.

HERMOTIMUS

Granted, Lycinus. What next? Must we live a hundred years and have all that trouble? Is there no other way of studying philosophy?

LYCINUS

No, Hermotimus. Nor need we complain if what you said at first is true: that life is short and art is long. And now I don't understand why you are distressed if you cannot become a Chrysippus or a Plato or a Pythagoras today before sunset.

HERMOTIMUS

You hedge me round, Lycinus, and drive me into a corner, although I have done you no harm. Clearly

δηλαδή, ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν προὔκοπτον ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασι, σὺ δὲ ὠλιγώρησας ἑαυτοῦ τηλικοῦτος ὤν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οἶσθ' οὖν ὃ δράσεις; ἐμοὶ μὲν ὥσπερ κορυβαντιῶντι μὴ πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλ' ἔα ληρεῖν, σὺ δὲ ὡς ἔχεις προχώρει ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ πέραινε κατὰ τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς σοι δεδογμένα περὶ τούτων.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐᾷς σὺ βίαιος ὢν αἱρεῖσθαί τι, ἢν μὴ πειραθῶ ἁπάντων.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μὴν εὖ εἰδέναι χρὴ ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἄλλο εἴποιμι. βίαιον δὲ λέγων ἐμὲ ἀναίτιον δοκεῖς μοι κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν αἰτιάασθαι,[1] *αὐτόν, ἔστ' ἂν μὴ ἕτερός σοι λόγος συμμαχήσας ἀφέληται τῆς βίας, ἤδη ἀγόμενον· ἰδού γέ τοι καὶ τάδε πολλῷ βιαιότερα φαίη ἄν σοι ὁ λόγος· σὺ δὲ ἐκεῖνον παρεὶς ἐμὲ ἴσως αἰτιάσῃ.*

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τὰ ποῖα; θαυμάζω γάρ, εἴ τι ἄρρητον καταλέλειπται αὐτῷ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

64 *Οὐχ ἱκανὸν εἶναί φησι τὸ πάντα ἰδεῖν καὶ διεξελθεῖν δι' αὐτῶν, ὡς ἔχειν ἤδη ἑλέσθαι τὸ βέλτιστον, ἀλλ' ἔτι τοῦ μεγίστου ἐνδεῖν.*

[1] *αἰτιάασθαι* Jacobitz : *αἰτιᾶσθαι* MSS.

you are doing this from spite, because I have made progress in my studies while you have neglected yourself—at your age too.

LYCINUS

Do you know what? Take no notice of my ravings, but leave me to my silly chatter, and you go on your way as you are and finish what you decided to do in the first place.

HERMOTIMUS

You are so compulsive that you do not let me make any choice unless I try them all.

LYCINUS

Well, you may be sure that I shall never say anything else. When you call me compulsive you seem to me to be blaming the innocent, as the poet says;[1] for I myself, as long as no other argument comes to your aid to release you from the compulsion, am at present a helpless captive. But look, the argument is going to bring much greater pressure to bear on you, but perhaps you will ignore that and blame me.

HERMOTIMUS

How? I should be surprised if it had anything left to say.

LYCINUS

It says that to inspect and to investigate everything is not sufficient to give you the power to choose the best. No, the most important thing is still lacking.

[1] Homer, *Il.*, 11, 654.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τίνος τούτου;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Κριτικῆς τινος, ὦ θαυμάσιε, καὶ ἐξεταστικῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ νοῦ ὀξέος καὶ διανοίας ἀκριβοῦς καὶ ἀδεκάστου, οἵαν χρὴ εἶναι τὴν περὶ τῶν τηλικούτων δικάσουσαν, ἢ μάτην ἂν ἅπαντα ἑωραμένα εἴη. ἀποδοτέον οὖν φησι καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον καὶ προθέμενον ἅπαντα εἰς μέσον αἱρεῖσθαι διαμέλλοντα καὶ βραδύνοντα καὶ πολλάκις ἐπισκοποῦντα, μήτε ἡλικίαν τοῦ λέγοντος ἑκάστου μήτε σχῆμα ἢ δόξαν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ αἰδούμενον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀρεοπαγίτας αὐτὸ ποιοῦντα, οἳ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ σκότῳ δικάζουσιν, ὡς μὴ ἐς τοὺς λέγοντας, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ λεγόμενα ἀποβλέποιεν. καὶ τότ' ἤδη ἐξέσται σοι βεβαίως ἑλομένῳ φιλοσοφεῖν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Μετὰ τὸν βίον φής· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων βίος ἐξαρκέσειεν ἂν ὡς ἐπὶ πάντα ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς ἐπιδεῖν καὶ ἐπιδόντα κρῖναι καὶ κρίναντα ἑλέσθαι καὶ ἑλόμενον φιλοσοφῆσαι, μόνως γὰρ ἂν[1] οὕτως εὑρεθῆναι φὴς τἀληθές, ἄλλως δὲ οὔ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

65 Ὀκνῶ γάρ σοι εἰπεῖν, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, ὅτι οὐδὲ τοῦτό πω ἱκανόν, ἀλλ' ἔτι μοι δοκοῦμεν λεληθέναι ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς οἰόμενοι μέν τι εὑρηκέναι βέβαιον, εὑρόντες δὲ οὐδέν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἁλιεύοντες πολλάκις καθέντες τὰ δίκτυα καὶ βάρους τινὸς αἰσθόμενοι

[1] ἂν L. A. Post: δὴ MSS.

HERMOTIMUS

What is that?

LYCINUS

My dear sir, a critical, examining faculty, a quick wit, and a keen and impartial intellect. You must have this to make a judgment on matters of this kind, or you will have looked at everything in vain. The argument says that not a little time is to be allowed in a matter like this and everything put before you; you are not to rush ahead, but go slowly and make frequent inspections before you choose, having no regard for the age of each speaker, nor for his dress, nor for his reputation for wisdom. No, you must imitate the court of the Areopagus, which sits in judgment at night in the dark, so that it has no regard for who is speaking, but only for what is said. Then it is that you will be able to make a sound choice and practise philosophy.

HERMOTIMUS

You mean after death. From what you have said no man would live long enough to study everything and observe accurately every detail, and then, after observation, judge, and, after judging, choose, and after choosing practise philosophy; for this is the only way, you say, in which the truth could be discovered.

LYCINUS

I hesitate to tell you, Hermotimus, that even this is not enough. No, I think we deceived ourselves when we thought we had found safety: we have found no safety at all. We are like fishermen who often when they have let down their nets feel some-

ἀνέλκουσιν ἰχθῦς παμπόλλους γε περιβεβληκέναι ἐλπίζοντες, εἶτα ἐπειδὰν κάμωσιν ἀνασπῶντες, ἢ λίθος τις ἀναφαίνεται αὐτοῖς ἢ κεράμιον ψάμμῳ σεσαγμένον. σκόπει μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς τι τοιοῦτον ἀνεσπάκαμεν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐ μανθάνω τί σοι τὰ δίκτυα ταῦτα βούλεται· ἀτεχνῶς γάρ με περιβάλλεις αὐτοῖς.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν πειρῶ διεκδῦναι· σὺν θεῷ γὰρ οἶσθα νεῖν, εἰ καί τις ἄλλος· ἐγὼ γὰρ κἂν ἐφ' ἅπαντας ἔλθωμεν πειρώμενοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐργασώμεθά ποτε, οὐδέπω οὐδὲ τοῦτο δῆλον ἔσεσθαι νομίζω, εἴ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχει τὸ ζητούμενον ἢ πάντες ὁμοίως ἀγνοοῦσιν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τί φής; οὐδὲ τούτων τις πάντως ἔχει;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἄδηλον. ἢ σοι ἀδύνατον δοκεῖ ἅπαντας ψεύδεσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἄλλο τι εἶναι πρὸς μηδενὸς αὐτῶν πω εὑρημένον;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

66 Πῶς οἷόν τε;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὕτως· ἔστω γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἀληθὴς ἀριθμὸς ἡμῖν εἴκοσιν, οἷον, κυάμους τις εἴκοσιν ἐς τὴν χεῖρα λαβών, ἐπικλεισάμενος ἐρωτάτω δέκα τινάς, ὁπόσοι εἰσὶν οἱ κύαμοι ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ

thing heavy, and so haul in expecting a huge catch of fish; then when they are tired with their pulling they see a stone or a jar packed with sand. I am afraid we have hauled up something like that.

HERMOTIMUS

I don't know what these nets of yours mean: you have certainly caught me in them.

LYCINUS

Then try to get out. If anybody knows how to swim, you do—thanks to god's help. Now, even if we go round all the sects making our tests, and eventually complete our enquiry, I don't think it will even yet be certain whether any one of them has what we are looking for, or whether all alike are ignorant of it.

HERMOTIMUS

What do you mean? Not one of them?

LYCINUS

It is debatable. Do you think it impossible that all are wrong, and that the truth may be something different, something which none of them has yet found?

HERMOTIMUS

How could that be possible?

LYCINUS

In this way. Suppose our true number to be twenty. Now let someone take twenty beans in his hand, and then close it and ask any ten people how many beans he has in his hand. Suppose one man

εἰκάζοντες ὁ μὲν ἑπτά, ὁ δὲ πέντε, ὁ δὲ τριάκοντα λεγέτωσαν, ὁ δέ τις δέκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα, καὶ ὅλως ἄλλος ἄλλον τινὰ ἀριθμόν· ἐνδέχεται μέντοι καὶ κατὰ τύχην τινὰ ἀληθεῦσαι, ἢ γάρ;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ναί.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον, ἅπαντας ἄλλον ἄλλους ἀριθμοὺς εἰπεῖν, τοὺς ψευδεῖς καὶ οὐκ ὄντας, μηδένα δὲ αὐτῶν φάναι ὅτι εἴκοσιν ὁ ἀνὴρ κυάμους ἔχει. ἢ τί φής;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὐκ ἀδύνατον.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Κατὰ ταὐτὰ τοίνυν ἅπαντες μὲν οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ζητοῦσιν ὁποῖόν τί ἐστι, καὶ λέγουσιν ἄλλος ἄλλο τι αὐτὴν εἶναι, ὁ μὲν ἡδονήν, ὁ δὲ τὸ καλόν, ὁ δὲ ὅσα ἕτερά φασι περὶ αὐτῆς. εἰκὸς μὲν οὖν καὶ τούτων ἕν τι εἶναι τὸ εὔδαιμον, οὐκ ἀπεικὸς δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι παρ' αὐτὰ πάντα. καὶ ἐοίκαμεν ἡμεῖς ἀνάπαλιν ἢ ἐχρῆν, πρὶν τὴν ἀρχὴν εὑρεῖν, ἐπείγεσθαι πρὸς τὸ τέλος. ἔδει δ' οἶμαι πρότερον φανερὸν γενέσθαι ὅτι ἔγνωσται τἀληθὲς καὶ πάντως ἔχει τις αὐτὸ εἰδὼς τῶν φιλοσοφούντων. εἶτα μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἑξῆς ἂν ἦν ζητῆσαι, ᾧ πειστέον ἐστίν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ὥστε, ὦ Λυκῖνε, τοῦτο φής, ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν διὰ πάσης φιλοσοφίας χωρήσωμεν, οὐδὲ τότε πάντως ἕξομεν τἀληθὲς εὑρεῖν.

guesses seven, another five, another thirty, some other ten or fifteen, in short every one differently; nevertheless it is possible for someone by some chance to guess the truth, isn't it?

HERMOTIMUS

Yes.

LYCINUS

Yet it is not at all impossible for everyone to guess different numbers and for all these numbers to be wrong and untrue, and for not one of them to say that the man has twenty beans. Do you agree?

HERMOTIMUS

It is not impossible.

LYCINUS

In the same way, then, all those who study philosophy are trying to find out what happiness is, and each one says it is something different—pleasure, beauty, and all the other things they say about it. Very likely one of these things is happiness, but it is not unlikely that it is something quite different from every one of them. We seem to have gone in the wrong direction, hastening to the end before we have found the beginning. We should first, I think, have ascertained that the truth has been discovered, and that one or other of the philosophers really has knowledge of it. Then the next step would be to find out whom to believe.

HERMOTIMUS

This is what you are saying, then, Lycinus, that even if we go through all philosophy, we shall not even then really be able to discover the truth.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Μὴ ἐμέ, ὦγαθέ, ἐρώτα, ἀλλὰ τὸν λόγον αὖθις αὐτόν· καὶ ἴσως ἂν ἀποκρίναιτό σοι ὅτι οὐδέπω, ἔστ' ἂν ἄδηλον ᾖ εἰ ἕν τι τούτων ἐστὶν ὧν οὗτοι λέγουσιν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

67 Οὐδέποτε ἄρα ἐξ ὧν σὺ φῂς εὑρήσομεν οὐδὲ φιλοσοφήσομεν, ἀλλὰ δεήσει ἡμᾶς ἰδιώτην τινὰ βίον ζῆν ἀποστάντας τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν. τοῦτο ξυμβαίνει γε ἐξ [1] ὧν φής, ἀδύνατον εἶναι φιλοσοφῆσαι καὶ ἀνέφικτον ἀνθρώπῳ γε ὄντι. ἀξιοῖς γὰρ τὸν φιλοσοφήσειν μέλλοντα ἑλέσθαι πρῶτον φιλοσοφίαν τὴν ἀρίστην, ἡ δὲ αἵρεσις οὕτως σοι ἐδόκει μόνως ἀκριβὴς ἂν γενέσθαι, εἰ διὰ πάσης φιλοσοφίας χωρήσαντες ἑλοίμεθα τὴν ἀληθεστάτην. εἶτα λογιζόμενος ἐτῶν ἀριθμόν, ὁπόσος ἑκάστῃ ἱκανός, ὑπερεξέπιπτες ἀπομηκύνων τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐς γενεὰς ἄλλας, ὡς ὑπερήμερον γίγνεσθαι τἀληθὲς τοῦ ἑκάστου βίου. τελευτῶν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ οὐκ ἀνενδοίαστον ἀποφαίνεις, ἄδηλον εἶναι λέγων εἴτε εὕρηται πρὸς τῶν φιλοσοφούντων πάλαι τἀληθὲς εἴτε καὶ μή.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Σὺ δὲ πῶς, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, δύναιο ἂν ἐπομοσάμενος εἰπεῖν ὅτι εὕρηται πρὸς αὐτῶν;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ὀμόσαιμι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καίτοι πόσα ἄλλα παρεῖδον ἑκών σοι ἐξετάσεως μακρᾶς καὶ αὐτὰ δεόμενα;

[1] ἐξ add. edd.

LYCINUS

Don't ask me, my good sir. Again, ask the argument. Perhaps it would answer you that we cannot as yet discover the truth, as long as it is uncertain whether truth is one of the things they say it is.

HERMOTIMUS

From what you say we shall never find it or be philosophers. We shall have to give up philosophy and live a layman's life. At least it follows from what you say that philosophy for a human being is impossible and unattainable. For you say that whoever is going to practise philosophy must first choose the best philosophy, and the choice would be correct in your view only if the truest were chosen after going through the whole field. Then you calculated the number of years required for each and went beyond all bounds, stretching it to cover several generations, so that the search for truth exceeded any man's lifetime. Finally you show that even this is not beyond doubt when you say it is not certain whether any of the old philosophers found the truth or not.

LYCINUS

Could you, Hermotimus, guarantee on oath that they have found it?

HERMOTIMUS

No, I could not.

LYCINUS

Yet how many other things have I purposely omitted which call for long examination!

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

68 Τὰ ποῖα;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκ ἀκούεις τῶν Στωϊκῶν ἢ Ἐπικουρείων ἢ Πλατωνικῶν εἶναι φασκόντων τοὺς μὲν εἰδέναι τοὺς λόγους ἑκάστους, τοὺς δὲ μή, καίτοι τά γε ἄλλα πάνυ ἀξιοπίστους ὄντας;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Ἀληθῆ ταῦτα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τὸ τοίνυν διακρῖναι τοὺς εἰδότας καὶ διαγνῶναι ἀπὸ τῶν οὐκ εἰδότων μέν, φασκόντων δέ, οὔ σοι δοκεῖ πάνυ ἐργῶδες εἶναι;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Δεήσει τοίνυν σέ, εἰ μέλλεις Στωϊκῶν τὸν ἄριστον εἴσεσθαι, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ πάντας, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν ἐλθεῖν καὶ πειραθῆναι καὶ τὸν ἀμείνω προστήσασθαι διδάσκαλον, γυμνασάμενόν γε πρότερον καὶ κριτικὴν τῶν τοιούτων δύναμιν πορισάμενον, ὡς μή σε λάθῃ ὁ χείρων προκριθείς. καὶ σὺ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ὅρα ὅσου δεῖ τοῦ χρόνου, οὗ ἑκὼν παρῆκα δεδιὼς μὴ σὺ ἀγανακτήσῃς, καίτοι τό γε μέγιστόν τε ἅμα καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, λέγω δὴ τοῖς ἀδήλοις τε καὶ ἀμφιβόλοις, ἓν τοῦτό ἐστιν οἶμαι. καὶ μόνη σοι αὕτη πιστὴ καὶ βέβαιος ἐλπὶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειάν τε καὶ εὕρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἄλλη δὲ οὐδ' ἡτισοῦν ἢ τὸ κρίνειν δύνασθαι καὶ χωρίζειν ἀπὸ

HERMOTIMUS

What sort of things?

LYCINUS

Don't you hear some of the Stoics or Epicureans or Platonists say that, while some of them know all the doctrines, others do not, although in other respects they are quite reliable?

HERMOTIMUS

True enough.

LYCINUS

Then do you not think it a very laborious business to separate and differentiate those who know from those who do not know but say they know?

HERMOTIMUS

Very.

LYCINUS

Then if you are going to know the best Stoic you must go and make trial of most of them if not all, and take the best as your teacher, first training yourself and acquiring the power of criticism in such matters, to prevent your preferring inadvertently an inferior one. Just think how much time it needs! I left this out on purpose not to annoy you, and yet in matters of this sort I think it is the one most important requirement in such matters—I mean where there is uncertainty and doubt. And this is the only sure and firm hope you have for truth and its discovery. There is no hope whatsoever apart from the ability to judge and separate the false from the true, and like assayers of silver to distinguish the

τῶν ἀληθῶν τὰ ψευδῆ ὑπάρχειν σοι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἀργυρογνώμονας διαγιγνώσκειν ἅ τε δόκιμα καὶ ἀκίβδηλα καὶ ἃ παρακεκομμένα, καὶ εἴ ποτε τοιαύτην τινὰ δύναμιν καὶ τέχνην πορισάμενος ᾔεις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν λεγομένων· εἰ δὲ μή, εὖ ἴσθι ὡς οὐδὲν κωλύσει σε τῆς ῥινὸς ἕλκεσθαι ὑφ' ἑκάστων ἢ θαλλῷ προδειχθέντι ἀκολουθεῖν ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα· μᾶλλον δὲ τῷ ἐπιτραπεζίῳ ὕδατι ἐοικὼς ἔσῃ, ἐφ' ὅ τι ἂν μέρος ἑλκύσῃ σέ τις ἄκρῳ τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀγόμενος, ἢ καὶ νὴ Δία καλάμῳ τινὶ ἐπ' ὄχθῃ παραποταμίᾳ πεφυκότι καὶ πρὸς πᾶν τὸ πνέον καμπτομένῳ, κἂν μικρά τις αὔρα διαφυσήσασα διασαλεύσῃ αὐτόν.

69 Ὡς εἴ γέ τινα εὕροις [1] διδάσκαλον, ὃς ἀποδείξεως πέρι καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων διακρίσεως τέχνην τινὰ εἰδὼς διδάξειέ σε, παύσῃ δηλαδὴ πράγματα ἔχων. αὐτίκα γάρ σοι τὸ βέλτιστον φανεῖται καὶ τἀληθὲς ὑπαχθὲν τῇ ἀποδεικτικῇ ταύτῃ τέχνῃ καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος ἐλεγχθήσεται, καὶ σὺ βεβαίως ἑλόμενος καὶ κρίνας φιλοσοφήσεις καὶ τὴν τριπόθητον εὐδαιμονίαν κτησάμενος βιώσῃ μετ' αὐτῆς ἅπαντα συλλήβδην ἔχων τἀγαθά.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Εὖ γε, ὦ Λυκῖνε. παρὰ πολὺ γὰρ ταῦτα ἀμείνω καὶ ἐλπίδος οὐ μικρᾶς ἐχόμενα λέγεις, καὶ ζητητέος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡμῖν ἀνήρ τις τοιοῦτος, διαγνωστικούς τε καὶ διακριτικοὺς ποιήσων ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀποδεικτικούς· ὡς τά γε μετὰ ταῦτα ῥᾴδια ἤδη καὶ ἀπράγμονα καὶ οὐ πολλῆς διατριβῆς δεόμενα. καὶ ἔγωγε ἤδη χάριν οἶδά σοι ἐξευρόντι σύντομόν τινα ταύτην ἡμῖν καὶ ἀρίστην ὁδόν.

sound and genuine metal from the counterfeit. Were you to come to your examination of the doctrines with some such power and skill, all would be well; if not, you can be sure that nothing will save you from being dragged by the nose by them all or from following a leafy branch in front of you as sheep do; you will be like water spilt on a table, running whithersoever someone pulls you by the tip of his finger, or indeed like a reed growing on a river bank, bending to every breath of wind, however slight the breeze that blows and shakes it.

So find a competent teacher to give you instruction in demonstration and the art of distinguishing matters in dispute, and you will certainly find an end to your difficulties. At once the best will be clear to you, truth and falsehood will be proved under the scrutiny of this art of demonstration, and you will make a sound choice, and having made your judgment you will practise philosophy, and you will have won your thrice-desired happiness and live with her, possessing all good things in one package.

HERMOTIMUS

Well done, Lycinus! What you say is far better and full of great hopes. We must look for a man, it seems, who will make us able to judge and to distinguish and able in the highest degree to prove a case. What follows will be easy now and no trouble, and it will not need much time. Now I am indeed grateful to you for finding this excellent short-cut for us.

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[1] εὕροις Belinus: εὕρῃς MSS. (εὕρεις Γ).

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μὴν οὐδέπω χάριν ἄν μοι εἰδείης εἰκότως· οὐδὲν γάρ σοι ἐξευρηκὼς ἔδειξα, ὡς ἐγγυτέρω σε ποιήσειν τῆς ἐλπίδος, τὸ δὲ πολὺ πορρωτέρω γεγόναμεν ἢ πρότερον ἦμεν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς παροιμιαζομένους "πολλὰ μοχθήσαντες ὁμοίως ἐσμέν."

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Πῶς τοῦτο φής; πάνυ γὰρ λυπηρόν τι καὶ δύσελπι ἐρεῖν ἔοικας.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

70 Ὅτι, ὦ ἑταῖρε, κἂν εὕρωμεν ὑπισχνούμενόν τινα εἰδέναι τε ἀπόδειξιν καὶ ἄλλον διδάξειν, οὐκ αὐτίκα, οἶμαι, πιστεύσομεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλά τινα ζητήσομεν τὸν κρῖναι δυνάμενον, εἰ ἀληθῆ ὁ ἀνὴρ λέγει· κἂν τούτου εὐπορήσωμεν, ἄδηλον ἔτι ἡμῖν εἰ ὁ ἐπιγνώμων οὗτος οἶδε διαγιγνώσκειν τὸν ὀρθῶς κρινοῦντα ἢ μή, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν αὖθις τοῦτον ἄλλου ἐπιγνώμονος, οἶμαι, δεῖ. ἡμεῖς γὰρ πόθεν ἂν εἰδείημεν διακρίνειν τὸν ἄριστα κρῖναι δυνάμενον; ὁρᾷς ὅποι τοῦτο ἀποτείνεται καὶ ὡς ἀπέραντον γίγνεται, στῆναί ποτε καὶ καταληφθῆναι μὴ δυνάμενον; ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις αὐτάς, ὁπόσας οἷόν τε εὑρίσκειν, ἀμφισβητουμένας ὄψει καὶ μηδὲν ἐχούσας βέβαιον. αἱ γοῦν πλεῖσται αὐτῶν δι' ἄλλων ἀμφισβητουμένων πείθειν ἡμᾶς βιάζονται εἰδέναι, αἱ δὲ τοῖς πάνυ προδήλοις τὰ ἀφανέστατα συνάπτουσαι οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς κοινωνοῦντα ἀποδείξεις ὅμως αὐτῶν εἶναι φάσκουσιν, ὥσπερ εἴ τις οἴοιτο ἀποδείξειν εἶναι θεούς, διότι βωμοὶ αὐτῶν ὄντες φαίνονται. ὥστε, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, οὐκ

LYCINUS

No, you certainly have no reason to be grateful to me yet. I have discovered and told you nothing to bring you nearer to your hope. In fact we are much farther away than we were before, and as the proverb has it " a deal of toil and we're where we were."

HERMOTIMUS

What do you mean? This seems to me a hurtful and pessimistic statement.

LYCINUS

Because, my good friend, even if we find someone who professes knowledge of the art of demonstration and the ability to teach it to another, we shall not, I fancy, believe him at once, but look for someone else who can determine if the first man is speaking the truth. And even if we find this one, we are still not clear whether our arbiter knows how to distinguish the man whose judgment is correct or not, and for him too I fancy we shall need another arbiter. For how could we ourselves know how to choose the one able to judge best? Do you see how this goes on to infinity and cannot stop and be arrested? For you will see that all the proofs you can find are disputable and have no certainty. Most of them try to compel our belief on a basis of assumptions equally open to dispute, while the rest tack the most obscure and quite unrelated speculations on to self-evident truths and then say that the latter prove the former, as if a man thought to prove the existence of gods because we see their altars. So, Hermotimus, we seem to

οἶδ᾽ ὅπως καθάπερ οἱ ἐν κύκλῳ θέοντες ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀπορίαν ἐπανεληλύθαμεν.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

71 Οἷά με εἰργάσω, ὦ Λυκῖνε, ἄνθρακάς μοι τὸν θησαυρὸν ἀποφήνας, καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν ἀπολεῖταί μοι τὰ τοσαῦτα ἔτη καὶ ὁ κάματος ὁ πολύς.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἀλλ᾽, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, πολὺ ἔλαττον ἀνιάσῃ, ἢν ἐννοήσῃς ὅτι οὐ μόνος ἔξω μένεις τῶν ἐλπισθέντων ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς μάχονται οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες. ἢ τίς ἄρα δύναιτο δι᾽ ἐκείνων ἁπάντων χωρῆσαι ὧν ἔφην; ὅπερ ἀδύνατον καὶ αὐτὸς λέγεις εἶναι. νῦν δὲ ὅμοιόν μοι δοκεῖς ποιεῖν ὥσπερ εἴ τις δακρύοι καὶ αἰτιῷτο τὴν τύχην, ὅτι μὴ δύναιτο ἀνελθεῖν ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἢ ὅτι μὴ βύθιος ὑποδὺς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἐς Κύπρον ἀναδύσεται, ἢ ὅτι μὴ ἀρθεὶς πτηνὸς αὐθημερὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς Ἰνδοὺς τελεῖ. τὸ δ᾽ αἴτιον τῆς λύπης, ὅτι ἠλπίκει, οἶμαι, ἢ ὄναρ ποτὲ ἰδὼν τοιοῦτον ἢ αὐτὸς αὑτῷ ἀναπλάσας, οὐ πρότερον ἐξετάσας εἰ ἐφικτὰ εὔχεται καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν. καὶ δὴ καὶ σέ, ὦ ἑταῖρε, πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ὀνειροπολοῦντα νύξας ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου ἐκθορεῖν ἐποίησεν· εἶτα ὀργίζῃ αὐτῷ ἔτι μόλις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνοίγων καὶ τὸν ὕπνον οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἀποσειόμενος ὑφ᾽ ἡδονῆς ὧν ἑώρας. πάσχουσι δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ τὴν κενὴν μακαρίαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀναπλάττοντες, ἢν μεταξὺ πλουτοῦσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ θησαυροὺς ἀνορύττουσιν καὶ βασιλεύουσιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐδαιμονοῦσιν—οἷα

have run round in a circle and come back to our starting-point and the self-same difficulty.

HERMOTIMUS

Look at what you have done to me, Lycinus. You have shown my treasure to be nothing more than ashes, and all these years and heavy toil are lost in all likelihood.

LYCINUS

Well, Hermotimus, you will not be nearly so hurt if you remember that you are not the only one left outside the hoped-for blessings. No, all those who study philosophy are, as it were, wrangling over the shadow of an ass. Who could go through all that process I described? Even you yourself say that it is impossible. And now you seem to me to be acting like a man who wept and blamed fortune because he could not go up to heaven or dive deep into the sea off Sicily and come up at Cyprus, or fly like a bird from Greece to India in one day. His disappointment was due, I fancy, to expectations following a dream on some such subject or an invention of his imagination without prior enquiry whether his wishes could be fulfilled and were humanly possible. You too, my friend, have had many wonderful dreams, and the argument has poked you in the ribs and made you jump up out of your sleep. Then while your eyes are scarcely open you are angry with it, and you cannot easily shake off sleep for delight in what you have seen. Those who fabricate an unreal blessedness for themselves have just the same experience, surrounded by wealth, digging up treasure, kings, heaven-blest for some other reason—all this the

πολλὰ ἡ θεὸς ἐκείνη ῥᾳδιουργεῖ, ἡ Εὐχή, μεγαλόδωρος οὖσα καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀντιλέγουσα, κἂν πτηνὸς θέλῃ τις γενέσθαι, κἂν κολοσσιαῖος τὸ μέγεθος, κἂν ὄρη ὅλα χρυσᾶ εὑρίσκειν· ἢν τοίνυν ταῦτα ἐννοοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ παῖς προσελθὼν ἔρηταί τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οἷον ὅθεν ἄρτους ὠνητέον ἢ ὅ τι φατέον πρὸς τὸν ἀπαιτοῦντα τοὐνοίκιον ἐκ πολλοῦ περιμένοντα, οὕτως ἀγανακτοῦσιν ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐρομένου καὶ παρενοχλήσαντος ἀφαιρεθέντες ἅπαντα ἐκεῖνα τἀγαθὰ καὶ ὀλίγου δέουσι τὴν ῥῖνα τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποτραγεῖν.

72 Ἀλλὰ σύ, ὦ φιλότης, μὴ πάθῃς αὐτὸ πρὸς ἐμέ, εἴ σε θησαυροὺς ἀνορύττοντα καὶ πετόμενον καί τινας ἐννοίας ὑπερφυεῖς ἐννοοῦντα καί τινας ἐλπίδας ἀνεφίκτους ἐλπίζοντα φίλος ὢν οὐ περιεῖδον διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου ὀνείρῳ ἡδεῖ μὲν ἴσως, ἀτὰρ ὀνείρῳ γε συνόντα, διαναστάντα δὲ ἀξιῶ πράττειν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ ὅ σε παραπέμψει ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου τὰ κοινὰ ταῦτα φρονοῦντα. ἐπεὶ ὅ γε νῦν ἔπραττες καὶ ἐπενόεις, οὐδὲν τῶν Ἱπποκενταύρων καὶ Χιμαιρῶν καὶ Γοργόνων διαφέρει, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὄνειροι καὶ ποιηταὶ καὶ γραφεῖς ἐλεύθεροι ὄντες ἀναπλάττουσιν οὔτε γενόμενα πώποτε οὔτε γενέσθαι δυνάμενα. καὶ ὅμως ὁ πολὺς λεὼς πιστεύουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ κηλοῦνται ὁρῶντες ἢ ἀκούοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα διὰ τὸ ξένα καὶ ἀλλόκοτα εἶναι.

73 Καὶ σὺ δὴ μυθοποιοῦ τινος ἀκούσας ὡς ἔστιν τις γυνὴ ὑπερφυὴς τὸ κάλλος, ὑπὲρ τὰς Χάριτας αὐτὰς ἢ τὴν Οὐρανίαν,[1] μὴ πρότερον ἐξετάσας εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγει καὶ εἰ ἔστι που τῆς γῆς ἡ ἄνθρωπος

[1] After Οὐρανίαν MSS. have εἶναι: del. Jacobitz.

goddess Wishing easily manages, great in her gifts and never saying " no," whether you want to fly, to be as big as a Colossus, to discover whole mountains of gold; and if a slave interrupts their reverie with a question on day-to-day necessities—with what he is to buy bread, what he is to say to the landlord who has been waiting ever so long with a demand for the rent—they are so angry with him for taking all those good things away with his troublesome questions that they come near to biting off his nose.

But, my dear friend, do not feel like that towards me, if I, a friend, did not let you spend all your life in a dream, albeit a sweet one, digging up treasure, flying, inventing extravagant visions, and hoping for what was beyond reach, or if again I tell you to get up and carry out your daily tasks and adopt a course that will keep your mind in future on the trivalities of the common life. For what you have recently been working at and planning is no different from Hippocentaurs and Chimaeras and Gorgons and all the other images that belong to dreams and to poets and painters with their artistic licence—fancies that have never existed and can never exist. Nevertheless the vast majority of mankind believe them and they are enchanted when they see or hear things of this sort, because they are strange and monstrous.

You too have heard from some storyteller of a woman of surpassing beauty, beyond the Graces themselves or Heavenly Aphrodite; and, although you had not first asked whether he was telling the truth and whether this woman existed anywhere

αὕτη, ἤρας εὐθύς, ὥσπερ φασὶ τὴν Μήδειαν ἐξ ὀνείρατος ἐρασθῆναι τοῦ Ἰάσονος. ὃ δὲ δὴ μάλιστά σε πρὸς τὸν ἔρωτα ἐπηγάγετο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δέ, ὁπόσοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ σοι εἰδώλου ἐρῶσι, τοῦτο ἦν, ὥς γέ μοι εἰκάζοντι φαίνεται, τὸ τὸν λέγοντα ἐκεῖνον περὶ τῆς γυναικός, ἐπείπερ ἐπιστεύθη τὸ πρῶτον ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγει, ἀκόλουθα ἐπάγειν· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἑωρᾶτε μόνον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἷλκεν ὑμᾶς τῆς ῥινός, ἐπείπερ ἅπαξ τὴν πρώτην λαβὴν ἐνεδώκατε αὐτῷ, καὶ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγαπωμένην δι' ἧς ἔλεγεν εὐθείας ὁδοῦ. ῥᾴδια γάρ, οἶμαι, τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν ἔτι ἐπιστρεφόμενος εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον ἐξήταζεν εἰ ἀληθής ἐστιν καὶ εἰ μὴ ἔλαθεν καθ' ἣν οὐκ ἐχρῆν εἰσελθών, ἀλλ' ἠκολούθει τοῖς τῶν προωδευκότων ἴχνεσι, καθάπερ τὰ πρόβατα πρὸς τὸν ἡγούμενον, δέον ἐπὶ τῇ εἰσόδῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς σκέψασθαι, εἴπερ εἰσιτητέον.

74 Ὃ δέ φημι, σαφέστερον ἂν μάθοις, ἤν τι τοιοῦτον ὅμοιον παραθεωρήσῃς αὐτῷ· λέγοντος γάρ τινος τῶν μεγαλοτόλμων τούτων ποιητῶν, ὡς γένοιτό ποτε τρικέφαλος καὶ ἑξάχειρ ἄνθρωπος, ἂν τὸ πρῶτον ταῦτα ἀπραγμόνως ἀποδέξῃ μὴ ἐξετάσας εἰ δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ πιστεύσας, εὐθὺς ἀκολούθως ἂν ἐπάγοι τὰ λοιπά, ὡς καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ αὐτὸς εἶχεν ἓξ καὶ ὦτα ἓξ καὶ φωνὰς τρεῖς ἅμα ἠφίει καὶ ἤσθιεν διὰ τριῶν στομάτων καὶ δακτύλους τριάκοντα εἶχεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν δέκα ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσί· καὶ εἰ πολεμεῖν δέοι, αἱ τρεῖς μὲν χεῖρες ἑκάστη πέλτην ἢ γέρρον ἢ ἀσπίδα εἶχον, αἱ τρεῖς δὲ ἡ μὲν πέλεκυν κατέφερεν, ἡ δὲ λόγχην ἠφίει, ἡ δὲ τῷ ξίφει ἐχρῆτο. καὶ τίς ἔτι

in the world, you fell in love with her at once, as they say Medea fell in love with Jason from a dream. But what above all brought you to this love—and has brought all who are in love with the same vision as you—was, I should guess, this: when he had told you about the woman and his first sketch had won your belief, he proceeded to fill in the details. You looked at nothing else, and so, when once you had let him get the first grip, he dragged you all by the nose and led you to the beloved by what he said was a straight path. The rest, I fancy, was easy: not one of you turned back to the entrance and enquired whether it was the true one and whether he had made a mistake and should not have entered; no, you followed in the steps of those who had made the journey before you, like sheep following their leader, although you should have considered at the entrance right at the beginning whether you ought to enter in there.

You will see better what I mean if you consider this analogy: suppose one of these daring poets were to say that there was once a man with three heads and six hands, and suppose that you facilely accepted this without asking if it were possible, just believing, he would at once follow it up by filling in the details appropriately—six eyes, six ears, three voices coming from three mouths, each taking food, and thirty fingers, unlike us with our ten on two hands; and, if he had to go to war, three hands held three shields—light, oblong, or round—, and three brandished axe, spear, and sword. Who would disbelieve these details now—details which are consistent with

ἂν ἀπιστήσειε ταῦτα λέγοντι αὐτῷ; ἀκόλουθα γὰρ τῇ ἀρχῇ, περὶ ἧς ἐχρῆν εὐθὺς σκοπεῖν εἴπερ παραδεκτέα [1] *καὶ εἰ συγχωρητέα οὕτως ἔχειν. ἢν δὲ ἅπαξ ἐκεῖνα δῷς, ἐπιρρεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ οὔποτε στήσεται καὶ τὸ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς οὐκέτι ῥᾴδιον, ἐπείπερ ἀκόλουθα καὶ ὅμοιά ἐστιν τῇ συγχωρηθείσῃ ἀρχῇ· ἅπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς πάσχετε. ὑπὸ γὰρ δὴ ἔρωτος καὶ προθυμίας οὐκ ἐξετάσαντες τὰ κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον ἑκάστην ὅπως ὑμῖν ἔχει, προχωρεῖτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκολουθίας ἑλκόμενοι, οὐκ ἐννοοῦντες εἴ τι γένοιτο ἂν ἀκόλουθόν τι αὑτῷ καὶ ψεῦδος ὄν· οἷον, εἴ τις λέγοι τὰ δὶς πέντε ἑπτὰ εἶναι καὶ σὺ πιστεύσειας αὐτῷ μὴ ἀριθμήσας ἐπὶ σαυτοῦ, ἐπάξει δηλαδὴ ὅτι καὶ τετράκις πέντε τετταρεσκαίδεκα πάντως ἐστὶ καὶ μέχρι ἂν ὅτου ἐθελήσῃ. οἷα καὶ ἡ θαυμαστὴ γεωμετρία ποιεῖ—κἀκείνη γὰρ τοὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀλλόκοτά τινα αἰτήματα αἰτήσασα καὶ συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῇ ἀξιώσασα οὐδὲ συστῆναι δυνάμενα—σημεῖά τινα ἀμερῆ καὶ γραμμὰς ἀπλατεῖς καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐπὶ σαθροῖς τοῖς θεμελίοις τούτοις οἰκοδομεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ ἀξιοῖ εἰς ἀπόδειξιν ἀληθῆ λέγειν ἀπὸ ψευδοῦς τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁρμωμένη.*

75 Κατὰ *ταὐτὰ τοίνυν καὶ ὑμεῖς δόντες τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς προαιρέσεως ἑκάστης πιστεύετε τοῖς ἑξῆς καὶ γνώρισμα τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτῶν τὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἡγεῖσθε εἶναι ψευδῆ οὖσαν. εἶτα οἱ μὲν ὑμῶν ἐναποθνήσκουσιν ταῖς ἐλπίσι, πρὶν ἰδεῖν τἀληθὲς καὶ καταγνῶναι τῶν ἐξαπατησάντων ἐκείνων, οἱ δὲ κἂν αἴσθωνται ἐξηπατημένοι ὀψέ ποτε γέροντες ἤδη γενόμενοι, ὀκνοῦσιν ἀναστρέφειν αἰδούμενοι εἰ δεήσει τηλικούτους αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἐξομολογήσασ-*

the first outline? It was there that you ought to have seen whether it was credible or acceptable thus. Once you admit the premises the rest comes flooding in; you will never stay its course, and disbelief is difficult now, for what follows is consistent in the way it follows the agreed premises. This has happened to you all. Because of your love and enthusiasm you made no enquiry into the conditions at each entrance. You go forward led by the consistency of what came after, not considering that things may be consistent and false. Suppose for instance you were to believe someone who said that twice five is seven and did not count for yourself, he will clearly go on to say that four times five is certainly fourteen, and so on, as long as he likes. This is what that marvellous geometry does—in the beginning it presents certain monstrous postulates and demands that we consent to them though they cannot exist—for instance points without parts, lines without breadth, and so on—and on these rotten foundations it erects its structure and claims to demonstrate truths, in spite of the fact that it starts from a false beginning.

Draw the comparison: you philosophers grant the premises of the various systems and then believe everything that follows, supposing that the consistency you find, false though it is, is a proof of its essential truth. Then some of you die in your hopes before they perceive the truth and condemn their deceivers, while others, even if they see too late that they have been deceived, are old men already, and hesitate to turn back out of shame, for

[1] *παραδεκτέα* Cobet: *δεκτέα* MSS.

θαι ὅτι παίδων πράγματα ἔχοντες οὐ συνίεσαν· ὥστε ἐμμένουσιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπ' αἰσχύνης καὶ ἐπαινοῦσι τὰ παρόντα καὶ ὁπόσους ἂν δύνωνται προτρέπουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτά, ὡς ἂν μὴ μόνοι ἐξηπατημένοι ὦσιν ἀλλὰ ἔχωσι παραμυθίαν τὸ καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους τὰ ὅμοια παθεῖν αὐτοῖς. καὶ γὰρ αὖ κἀκεῖνο ὁρῶσιν, ὅτι ἢν τἀληθὲς εἴπωσιν οὐκέτι σεμνοὶ ὥσπερ νῦν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς δόξουσιν οὐδὲ τιμήσονται ὁμοίως. οὐκ ἂν οὖν ἑκόντες εἴποιεν εἰδότες, ἀφ' οἵων ἐκπεσόντες ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἄλλοις δόξουσιν. ὀλίγοις δ' ἂν πάνυ ἐντύχοις ὑπ' ἀνδρείας τολμῶσι λέγειν ὅτι ἐξηπάτηνται καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποτρέπειν τῶν ὁμοίων πειρωμένους. εἰ δ' οὖν τινι τοιούτῳ ἐντύχοις, φιλαλήθη τε κάλει τὸν τοιοῦτον καὶ χρηστὸν καὶ δίκαιον καί, εἰ βούλει, φιλόσοφον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν φθονήσαιμι τούτῳ μόνῳ τοῦ ὀνόματος. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἢ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ἴσασιν οἰόμενοι εἰδέναι ἢ εἰδότες ἀποκρύπτονται ὑπὸ δειλίας καὶ αἰσχύνης καὶ τοῦ προτιμᾶσθαι βούλεσθαι.

76 Καίτοι πρὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἅπαντα μὲν ἃ ἔφην, ἐάσωμεν αὐτοῦ καταβαλόντες καὶ λήθη τις ἔστω αὐτῶν ὥσπερ τῶν πρὸ Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος πραχθέντων. ὑποθέμενοι δὲ ταύτην φιλοσοφίαν ὀρθὴν εἶναι τὴν τῶν Στωϊκῶν, ἄλλην δὲ μηδ' ἡντιναοῦν, ἴδωμεν εἰ ἐφικτὴ αὕτη καὶ δυνατή ἐστιν, ἢ μάτην κάμνουσιν ὁπόσοι ἐφίενται αὐτῆς. τὰς μὲν γὰρ ὑποσχέσεις ἀκούω θαυμαστάς τινας, ἡλίκα εὐδαιμονήσουσιν οἱ ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον ἐλθόντες, μόνους γὰρ τούτους πάντα συλλαβόντας ἕξειν τὰ τῷ ὄντι ἀγαθά. τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ σὺ ἂν [1]

[1] ἂν add. Jacobitz.

fear that in their old age they have to acknowledge that they did not know that they were playing children's games; so they stick to it out of shame, and praise their lot and turn as many as they can into the same course so that they may not be the only ones who are swindled, but that a multitude of others in the same state as themselves may be a consolation to them. They realise moreover this, that if they speak the truth they will no longer be revered above the many as now, nor receive the same honour. No, they would not be ready to speak the truth, knowing as they do the heights from which they will fall to the state of ordinary mortals. You will certainly find very few brave enough to admit that they have been deceived and to turn away others from a similar attempt. If, then, you meet such a one, call him a lover of truth, honest, and just, and, if you like, a philosopher; for to him alone I would not begrudge the name. As for the rest, either they have no knowledge of the truth, though they think they have, or they know it and hide it from cowardice and shame and the wish to be highly honoured.

However, in Athena's name let us forget all that I have said and let it drop, let it pass into oblivion like all history before Euclid's archonship.[1] Let us assume that this philosophy of the Stoics and no other is right, and see whether it is attainable and possible, or if those who desire it labour in vain. For I hear that it makes wonderful promises of the happiness in store for those who attain its height, for they alone will take and possess every true good. You may know the answer to the next question better

[1] The year 403–402 B.C. when the democracy was re-established in Athens and an amnesty went into effect.

ἄμεινον εἰδείης, εἴ τινι ἐντετύχηκας τοιούτῳ Στωϊκῷ τῶν ἄκρων,[1] οἵῳ μήτε λυπεῖσθαι μήθ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς κατασπᾶσθαι μήτε ὀργίζεσθαι, φθόνου δὲ κρείττονι καὶ πλούτου καταφρονοῦντι καὶ συνόλως εὐδαίμονι. ὁποῖον χρὴ τὸν κανόνα εἶναι καὶ γνώμονα τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν βίου—ὁ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ μικρότατον ἐνδέων ἀτελής, κἂν πάντα πλείω ἔχῃ—εἰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐχί, οὐδέπω εὐδαίμων.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

77 Οὐδένα τοιοῦτον εἶδον.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Εὖ γε, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, ὅτι οὐ ψεύδῃ ἑκών. εἰς τί δ' οὖν ἀποβλέπων φιλοσοφεῖς, ὅταν ὁρᾷς μήτε τὸν διδάσκαλον τὸν σὸν μήτε τὸν ἐκείνου μήτε τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ μηδ' ἂν εἰς δεκαγονίαν ἀναγάγῃς μηδένα αὐτῶν σοφὸν ἀκριβῶς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εὐδαίμονα γεγενημένον; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖνο ὀρθῶς εἴποις ὡς ἀπόχρη κἂν πλησίον γένῃ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ὄφελος· ὁμοίως γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ ὀδοῦ ἐστιν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ ὅ τε παρὰ τὴν θύραν ἔξω ἑστὼς καὶ ὁ πόρρω· διαλλάττοιεν δ' ἄν, ὅτι μᾶλλον οὗτος ἀνιάσεται ὁρῶν ἐγγύθεν οἵων ἐστέρηται. εἶτα ἵνα πλησίον γένῃ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας (δώσω γάρ τοῦτό σοι) τοσαῦτα πονεῖς κατατρύχων σεαυτόν, καὶ παραδεδράμηκέ σε ὁ βίος ὁ τοσοῦτος ἐν ἀκηδίᾳ καὶ καμάτῳ καὶ ἀγρυπνίαις κάτω νενευκότα· καὶ εἰσαῦθις πονήσεις, ὡς φής, ἄλλα εἴκοσιν ἔτη τοὐλάχιστον, ἵνα ὀγδοηκοντούτης γενόμενος (εἴ τις ἐγγυητής ἐστί σοι ὅτι βιώσῃ τοσαῦτα) ὅμως

than I—have you ever met a Stoic, one of the top men, of a type that feels no pain, one who is not dragged down by pleasure, who is never angry, but rises above envy, despises wealth, and is perfectly happy? Our canon and measure of the virtuous life must be like that—for if he fall short in the least thing he is imperfect, even if he has more of everything—and if he is not like that, he is not yet happy.

HERMOTIMUS

I have never seen such a man.

LYCINUS

Good for you, Hermotimus! You do not tell deliberate lies. Then what have you in view as a philosopher, when you see neither your teacher nor his teacher nor his predecessor even back to the tenth generation truly wise and therefore happy? For it would not be right for you to say that it is enough if you come near to happiness—that is of no use: a man standing by the door is as much outside the threshold and in the open as one a long way off, the difference being that the former will be more annoyed because he has a near view of what he cannot have. Then just to get near happiness (this I will grant you) you take all that trouble, wearing yourself out, and so much of your life has slipped away in torpor and weariness, slumped in sleeplessness; and you will labour on, as you say, for at least another twenty years, so that when you are eighty (have you a guarantee of living so long?) you may be one of those who are not yet

[1] *τοιούτῳ Στωϊκῷ τῶν ἄκρων* Fritzsche : *Στωϊκῷ τοιούτῳ ἐς* (or *καὶ*) *τῷ ἄκρῳ* (or *τὸ ἄκρον*) MSS.

ἧς ἐν τοῖς μηδέπω εὐδαιμονοῦσιν—εἰ μὴ μόνος οἴει τεύξεσθαι τούτου καὶ αἱρήσειν διώκων ὃ πρὸ σοῦ μάλα πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ὠκύτεροι παρὰ πολὺ διώκοντες οὐ κατέλαβον.

78 Ἀλλὰ καὶ κατάλαβε, εἰ δοκεῖ, καὶ ἔχε ὅλον συλλαβών· τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον οὐχ ὁρῶ ὅ τι ποτ᾽ ἂν εἴη τἀγαθόν, ὡς ἀντάξιον δοκεῖν τῶν πόνων τῶν τοσούτων. ἔπειτα ἐς πόσον ἔτι τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀπολαύσεις αὐτοῦ γέρων ἤδη καὶ παντὸς ἡδέος ἔξωρος ὢν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον πόδα φασὶν ἐν τῇ σορῷ ἔχων; εἰ μή τι ἐς ἄλλον, ὦ γενναῖε, βίον προγυμνάζεις ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐς ἐκεῖνον ἐλθὼν ἄμεινον διαγάγοις, εἰδὼς ὅντινα τρόπον χρὴ βιοῦν ὅμοιον ὡς εἴ τις ἐς τοσοῦτον σκευάζοι τε καὶ εὐτρεπίζοι ὡς δειπνήσων ἄμεινον ἄχρι ἂν λάθῃ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ διαφθαρείς.

79 Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ἐκεῖνό πω κατανενόηκας οἶμαι ὡς ἡ μὲν ἀρετὴ ἐν ἔργοις δήπου ἐστίν, οἷον ἐν τῷ δίκαια πράττειν καὶ σοφὰ καὶ ἀνδρεῖα, ὑμεῖς δὲ (τὸ δὲ ὑμεῖς ὅταν εἴπω, τοὺς ἄκρους τῶν φιλοσοφούντων φημί) ἀφέντες ταῦτα ζητεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν ῥημάτια δύστηνα μελετᾶτε καὶ συλλογισμοὺς καὶ ἀπορίας καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου ἐπὶ τούτοις διατρίβετε, καὶ ὃς ἂν κρατῇ ἐν αὐτοῖς καλλίνικος ὑμῖν δοκεῖ. ἀφ᾽ ὧν οἶμαι καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον τουτονὶ θαυμάζετε γέροντα ἄνδρα, ὅτι τοὺς προσομιλοῦντας ἐς ἀπορίαν καθίστησιν καὶ οἶδεν ὡς χρὴ ἐρέσθαι καὶ σοφίσασθαι καὶ πανουργῆσαι καὶ ἐς ἄφυκτα ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τὸν καρπὸν ἀτεχνῶς ἀφέντες—οὗτος δὲ ἦν περὶ τὰ ἔργα—περὶ τὸν φλοιὸν ἀσχολεῖσθε τὰ φύλλα καταχέοντες ἀλλήλων

happy—unless you think that you alone will reach and grasp in your pursuit that which very many good and far swifter men have pursued before you and failed to catch.

Well, catch it then, if you wish: grasp and hold all of it; but in the first place I do not see what good could ever be supposed to compensate for all these efforts. Then what time will you have left to enjoy it, old man as you will be, too far gone for pleasure, and with one foot in the grave, as they say? Unless, my noble friend, you are putting in training for a future life, so that you can live it better when you get there, knowing how to live like a man preparing and training himself for a better dinner for such a long time that before he knows it he is dead of hunger.

Moreover, you have never realised, I suppose, that virtue lies in action, in acting justly and wisely and bravely. While all of you (by " you " I mean the philosophers at the top) neglect these things, and are studying how to find and compose your wretched texts and syllogisms and problems. You spend most of your lives on this, and whoever wins in this race is your Conquering Hero. That, I fancy, is why you admire this teacher of yours, the old man, because he reduces his pupils to perplexity and knows how to question and quibble and cheat and throw into inextricable confusion. So you just throw away the fruit—which has to do with works—and busy yourselves with the husk, in your discussions throwing

ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις. ἢ γὰρ ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἃ πράττετε, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, πάντες ἕωθεν εἰς ἑσπέραν;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Οὔκ, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἦ οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ ὀρθῶς τις φαίη τὴν σκιὰν ὑμᾶς θηρεύειν ἐάσαντας τὸ σῶμα ἢ τοῦ ὄφεως τὸ σύφαρ ἀμελήσαντας τοῦ ὁλκοῦ; μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ὅμοιον ποιεῖν ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἐς ὅλμον ὕδωρ ἐκχέας ὑπέρῳ σιδηρῷ πτίττοι[1] πράττειν ἀναγκαῖόν τι καὶ προὔργου οἰόμενος, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἂν ἀποβάλῃ φασὶ τοὺς ὤμους πτίττων,[1] ὕδωρ ὁμοίως τὸ ὕδωρ μένει;

80 Καί μοι δὸς ἐνταῦθα ἤδη ἐρέσθαι σε εἰ ἐθέλοις ἂν ἔξω τῶν λόγων τὰ ἄλλα ἐοικέναι τῷ διδασκάλῳ, οὕτω μὲν ὀργίλος, οὕτω δὲ μικρολόγος, οὕτω δὲ φιλόνεικος ὢν καὶ φιλήδονος νὴ Δί', εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκεῖ. τί σιγᾷς,[2] ὦ Ἑρμότιμε; θέλεις διηγήσομαι ἃ πρῴην ἤκουσα ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας τινὸς λέγοντος ἀνδρὸς πάνυ γεγηρακότος, ᾧ πάμπολλοι τῶν νέων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ πλησιάζουσιν; ἀπαιτῶν γὰρ παρά τινος τῶν μαθητῶν τὸν μισθὸν ἠγανάκτει, λέγων ὑπερήμερον εἶναι καὶ ἐκπρόθεσμον τοῦ ὀφλήματος, ὃν ἔδει πρὸ ἑκκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν ἐκτετικέναι τῇ ἕνῃ καὶ νέᾳ· οὕτω γὰρ συνθέσθαι.

81 Καὶ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἠγανάκτει, παρεστὼς ὁ θεῖος τοῦ νεανίσκου, ἄγροικος ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἰδιώτης ὡς πρὸς τὰ ὑμέτερα, Πέπαυσο, εἶπεν, ὦ θαυμάσιε, τὰ

[1] πτίττοι . . . πτίττων C, G: πτήττοι . . . πτήττων Γ: πλήττοι . . . πλήττων N.

the leaves over each other. Isn't that what you all do, Hermotimus, from dawn till dusk?

HERMOTIMUS

Yes, just that.

LYCINUS

Then wouldn't it be right to say that you forget the substance and hunt the shadow, or ignore the crawling serpent and hunt the slough? Yes, and that you are like a man pouring water into a mortar and braying it with an iron pestle who thinks that he is doing essential and productive work, not knowing that although you bray your arms off, as they say, water is still water?

Now here let me ask you if, leaving aside his talk, you would care to be like your teacher. Would you care to be so irritable, so mean, so quarrelsome, yes, and so fond of pleasure, even if people don't think it? Why don't you speak, Hermotimus? Shall I tell you what I heard the other day from a very old man who spoke in defence of some philosophy or other? Quite a number of young men keep him company to learn his wisdom, and he was in a temper as he demanded payment from one of his pupils, saying that it was overdue and that the day had gone by: the debt ought to have been paid sixteen days before on the last day of the month, according to the agreement.

During this show of temper, the young man's uncle came up to him. He was a countryman—a mere layman to you philosophers. "Good heavens! Stop saying you've been cheated of a fortune because

[2] τί σιγᾷς Graevius: τι σι γε MSS.

μέγιστ᾽ ἠδικῆσθαι λέγων, εἰ ῥημάτια παρὰ σοῦ πριάμενοι μηδέπω ἐκτετίκαμεν διάφορον. καίτοι ἃ μὲν ἡμῖν πέπρακας, ἔχεις ἔτι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλαττον γέγονέ σοι τῶν μαθημάτων. τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα ὧν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμῶν συνέστησά σοι τὸν νεανίσκον, ὁ δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἀμείνων γεγένηται διὰ σέ, ὃς τοὐμοῦ γείτονος Ἐχεκράτους τὴν θυγατέρα συναρπάσας παρθένον οὖσαν διέφθειρεν καὶ ὀλίγου δίκην ἔφυγε [1] βιαίων, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ ταλάντου ὠνησάμην τὸ πλημμέλημα παρὰ πένητος ἀνδρὸς τοῦ Ἐχεκράτους. τὴν μητέρα δὲ πρῴην ἐρράπισεν, ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἐλάβετο ὑπὸ κόλπου ἐκκομίζοντος τὸν κάδον, ὡς ἔχοι συμβολὰς οἶμαι καταθεῖναι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐς ὀργὴν καὶ θυμὸν καὶ ἀναισχυντίαν καὶ ἐς τόλμαν καὶ ψεῦδος μακρῷ τινι ἄμεινον εἶχε πέρυσιν ἢ νῦν. καίτοι ἐβουλόμην ἂν αὐτὸν ἐς ταῦτα ὠφελῆσθαι ὑπὸ σοῦ μᾶλλον ἤπερ ἐκεῖνα εἰδέναι, ἃ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν δεομένους ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον διεξέρχεται, ὡς κροκόδειλος ἥρπασε παιδίον, καὶ ὑπέσχηται ἀποδώσειν αὐτό, ἂν ἀποκρίνηται ὁ πατὴρ οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅ τι, ἢ ὡς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἡμέρας οὔσης μὴ νύκτα εἶναι. ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ κέρατα ἡμῖν ὁ γενναῖος ἀναφύει οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως περιπλέκων τὸν λόγον. ἡμεῖς δὲ γελῶμεν ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἐπιβυσάμενος τὰ ὦτα μελετᾷ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἕξεις τινὰς καὶ σχέσεις καὶ καταλήψεις καὶ φαντασίας καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ὀνόματα διεξιών. ἀκούομεν δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὡς καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστιν ἀλλὰ διὰ πάντων πεφοίτηκεν, οἷον ξύλων καὶ λίθων καὶ ζῴων ἄχρι καὶ τῶν ἀτιμοτάτων. καὶ τῆς γε μητρὸς ἐρομένης αὐτὸν τί ταῦτα ληρεῖ, καταγελάσας αὐτῆς,

we bought some pretty talk from you and haven't paid you the balance yet. In any case you still have what you sold to us: your capital of knowledge is not reduced. And what about my hopes in sending the young man to you in the first place? You've made him no better—he carried off my neighbour Echecrates' daughter, a virgin, and raped her. He only just missed a summons for assault, but I paid a talent to Echecrates, who is a poor man, in recompense for his crime. The other day he thrashed his mother because she caught him carrying off the wine jar under his coat—his contribution, I suppose, to the wine-feast. As for passion and anger and shamelessness and recklessness and lying, he was far better last year than he is now. Yet I would have liked him to be helped by you in this sort of thing, rather than have all that knowledge which every day at dinner he parades at us, though we've no need of it: how a crocodile carried off a young lad, and promised to give him back if his father answered some question or other; or how when it's day it can't be night. Sometimes our fine gentleman even makes horns grow out of our heads, he twists our words so.[1] We laugh at all this, especially when he stops up his ears and does his practice and says over to himself his 'states' and 'conditions' and 'comprehensions' and 'images,' and a string of other names like these. We hear him say that God is not in heaven but pervades everything—sticks and stones and beasts right down to the meanest. And when his mother asks him why he talks such nonsense, he laughs at

[1] "Have you stopped beating your wife?" is the modern equivalent of the ancient "Have you lost your horns?"

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[1] ἔφυγε Reitz: ἔφυγον MSS.

Ἀλλὰ ἢν τὸν λῆρον τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἐκμάθω ἀκριβῶς, οὐδὲν κωλύσει με μόνον πλούσιον μόνον βασιλέα εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀνδράποδα καὶ καθάρματα νομίζεσθαι ὡς πρὸς ἐμέ.

82 Τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰπόντος, ὁ φιλόσοφος ὅρα οἵαν ἀπόκρισιν ἀπεκρίνατο, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, ὡς πρεσβυτικήν· ἔφη γάρ, Ἀλλ' εἴ γε μὴ ἐμοὶ ἐπλησίαζεν οὗτος, οὐκ οἴει μακρῷ χείρω ἂν αὐτὸν ἐξεργάσασθαι ἢ καὶ νὴ Δία ἴσως τῷ δημίῳ παραδεδόσθαι; ὡς νῦν γε χαλινόν τινα ἐμβέβληκεν αὐτῷ ἡ φιλοσοφία καὶ ἡ πρὸς ταύτην αἰδώς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μετριώτερός ἐστιν ὑμῖν καὶ φορητὸς ἔτι. φέρει γάρ τινα αἰσχύνην αὐτῷ, εἰ ἀνάξιος φαίνοιτο τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος, ἃ δὴ παρακολουθοῦντα παιδαγωγεῖ αὐτόν. ὥστε δίκαιος ἂν εἴην, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὧν βελτίω ἀπέφηνα, μισθὸν παρ' ὑμῶν λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐκείνων γε ἃ μὴ δέδρακεν αἰδούμενος φιλοσοφίαν. ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ τίτθαι τοιάδε λέγουσι περὶ τῶν παιδίων, ὡς ἀπιτητέον αὐτοῖς ἐς διδασκάλου· καὶ γὰρ ἂν μηδέπω μαθεῖν ἀγαθόν τι δύνωνται, ἀλλ' οὖν φαῦλον οὐδὲν ποιήσουσιν ἐκεῖ μένοντες. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀποπλῆσαί μοι δοκῶ, καὶ ὅντινα ἂν ἐθέλῃς τῶν εἰδότων τὰ ἡμέτερα, ἧκέ μοι ἐς αὔριον παραλαβὼν ὄψει τε ὅπως ἐρωτᾷ καὶ πῶς ἀποκρίνεται καὶ ὅσα μεμάθηκεν καὶ ὅσα ἤδη ἀνέγνωκε βιβλία περὶ ἀξιωμάτων, περὶ συλλογισμῶν, περὶ καταλήψεως, περὶ καθηκόντων καὶ ἄλλα ποικίλα. εἰ δὲ ἢ τὴν μητέρα ἔτυπτεν ἢ παρθένους συνήρπαζε, τί ταῦτα πρὸς ἐμέ; οὐ γὰρ παιδαγωγόν με ἐπεστήσατε αὐτῷ.

83 Τοιαῦτα γέρων ἄνθρωπος ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας ἔλεγε. σὺ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν φαίης, ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, ἱκανὸν

her and says: ' If I learn this " nonsense " properly, there will be nothing to stop me being the only rich man, the only king, and the rest slaves and scum compared with me.' "

This is what the man said. Now hear the philosopher's reply, Hermotimus, the answer of experience: " If he had not come to me, don't you think he would have done much worse, and even perhaps have faced the public executioner? As it is, philosophy and his regard for philosophy have put a bit in his mouth, and so he is more moderate and still tolerable. For it brings some shame on him if he shows himself unworthy of that dress and name, things which accompany him and serve as a tutor. So I deserve my pay from you, if not for any improvement I have made, at any rate for what out of respect for philosophy he has not done. Nurses too say as much, that little children must go to school: if they are still too young to learn anything good, at any rate they will be out of mischief while they are there. No, in general I think I have done what I had to do. Come tomorrow and bring along anyone you like who knows our teaching, and you will see how he asks questions and gives answers, how much he has learnt and how many books he has read already on axioms, syllogisms, comprehensions, properties, and all sorts of things. If he has beaten his mother or carried off girls, what is that to me? You didn't make me his chaperon."

This was the defence of philosophy that the old man gave. Would you too agree, Hermotimus, that

εἶναι ὡς διὰ τοῦτο φιλοσοφοίημεν, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν φαυλοτέρων πράττοιμεν; ἢ ἐπ' ἄλλαις ἐλπίσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς φιλοσοφεῖν ἠξιοῦμεν, οὐχ ὡς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν κοσμιώτεροι εἴημεν περινοστοῦντες; τί οὖν οὐκ ἀποκρίνῃ καὶ τοῦτο;

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

Τί δὲ ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι καὶ δακρῦσαι ὀλίγου δέω; ἐς τοσοῦτό μου καθίκετο ὁ λόγος ἀληθὴς ὤν, καὶ ὀδύρομαι, ὅσον ἄθλιος χρόνον ἀνάλωκα καὶ προσέτι μισθοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγους τελῶν ἀντὶ τῶν πόνων. νυνὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης ἀνανήφων ὁρῶ οἷα μέν ἐστιν ὧν ἤρων, ὁπόσα δὲ πέπονθα διὰ ταῦτα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

84 Καὶ τί δεῖ δακρύων, ὦ χρηστέ; τὸ γὰρ τοῦ μύθου ἐκεῖνο πάνυ συνετόν, οἶμαι, ὃν Αἴσωπος διηγεῖτο· ἔφη γὰρ ἄνθρωπόν τινα ἐπὶ τῇ ἠϊόνι καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν κυματωγὴν ἀριθμεῖν τὰ κύματα, σφαλέντα δὲ καὶ ἄχθεσθαι καὶ ἀνιᾶσθαι, ἄχρι δὴ τὴν κερδὼ παραστᾶσαν εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ, Τί, ὦ γενναῖε, ἀνιᾷ τῶν παρελθόντων ἕνεκα, δέον τὰ ἐντεῦθεν ἀρξάμενον ἀριθμεῖν ἀμελήσαντα ἐκείνων; Καὶ σὺ τοίνυν, ἐπείπερ οὕτω σοι δοκεῖ, ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν ἂν ἄμεινον ποιήσαις βίον τε κοινὸν ἅπασι βιοῦν ἀξιῶν καὶ συμπολιτεύσῃ τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐδὲν ἀλλόκοτον καὶ τετυφωμένον ἐλπίζων, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχυνῇ, ἤνπερ εὖ φρονῇς, εἰ γέρων ἄνθρωπος μεταμαθήσῃ καὶ μεταχωρήσεις πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον.
85 ταῦτα πάντα, ὦ φιλότης, ὁπόσα εἶπον, μή με νομίσῃς κατὰ τῆς Στοᾶς παρεσκευασμένον ἢ ἔχθραν τινὰ ἐξαίρετον πρὸς Στωϊκοὺς ἐπανῃρημέ-

it is enough that we study philosophy in order to keep out of mischief? Or was it with other hopes that we thought it worth while to study philosophy in the first place, not so that in our goings and comings we should present a fairer face than the layman? Why do you not answer this as well?

HERMOTIMUS

Only because I could almost weep. Your argument is true, and I'm driven to this: I'm in anguish at the time I've wasted like a fool, and at all the money I've paid for my labours, too. I was drunk and now I am sober and am seeing just what it was that I loved and what I have gone through for it.

LYCINUS

Why tears, honest friend? There's a deal of sense, I think, in that fable of Aesop's where a man sits on the shore by the water's edge to count the waves. When he fails he is hurt and takes it badly, until the Fox comes up to him and says: " Why are you worrying about those that have gone, my noble sir? Let them go and begin your count from here." And so with you; since that is your view, you will do better in the future to make up your mind to join in the common life. Share in the city life of everyday, and give up your hopes of the strange and puffed-up. You will not be ashamed, if you are wise, to learn afresh in your old age and make a change for the better. In all that I have said, my dear friend, do not think that I have directed my argument against the Stoa, or that I have some special hatred for the Stoics. No, it applied to all alike. I should

νον εἰρηκέναι, ἀλλὰ κοινὸς ἐπὶ πάντας ὁ λόγος. τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ πρὸς σὲ εἶπον ἄν, εἰ τὰ Πλάτωνος ἢ Ἀριστοτέλους ᾕρησο τῶν ἄλλων ἀκρίτων ἐρήμην καταγνούς. νῦν δὲ ἐπεὶ τὰ Στωϊκῶν προετίμησας, πρὸς τὴν Στοὰν ἀποτετάσθαι ὁ λόγος ἔδοξεν οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔχων.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ

86 Εὖ λέγεις· ἄπειμι γοῦν ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὡς μεταβαλοίμην καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ σχῆμα. ὄψει γοῦν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν οὔτε πώγωνα ὥσπερ νῦν λάσιον καὶ βαθὺν οὔτε δίαιταν κεκολασμένην, ἀλλ' ἄνετα πάντα καὶ ἐλεύθερα. τάχα δὲ καὶ πορφυρίδα μεταμφιάσομαι, ὡς εἰδεῖεν ἅπαντες ὅτι μηκέτι μοι τῶν λήρων ἐκείνων μέτεστιν. ὡς εἴθε γε καὶ ἐξεμέσαι δυνατὸν ἦν ἅπαντα ἐκεῖνα, ὁπόσα ἤκουσα παρ' αὐτῶν, καὶ εὖ ἴσθι, οὐκ ἂν ὤκνησα καὶ ἐλλέβορον πιεῖν διὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἢ ὁ Χρύσιππος, ὅπως μηδὲν ἔτι νοήσαιμι ὧν φασιν. σοὶ δ' οὖν οὐ μικρὰν χάριν οἶδα, ὦ Λυκῖνε, ὅτι με παραφερόμενον ὑπὸ θολεροῦ τινος χειμάρρου καὶ τραχέος, ἐπιδιδόντα ἐμαυτὸν καὶ κατὰ ῥοῦν συρρέοντα τῷ ὕδατι, ἀνέσπασας ἐπιστάς, τὸ τῶν τραγῳδῶν τοῦτο, θεὸς ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐπιφανείς. δοκῶ δέ μοι οὐκ ἀλόγως ἂν καὶ ξυρήσασθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν ὥσπερ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ναυαγίων ἀποσωθέντες ἐλεύθεροι, ἅτε καὶ σωτήρια τήμερον ἄξων [1] τοσαύτην ἀχλὺν ἀποσεισάμενος τῶν ὀμμάτων. φιλοσόφῳ δὲ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν κἂν ἄκων ποτὲ ὁδῷ [2] βαδίζων ἐντύχω, οὕτως ἐκτραπήσομαι καὶ περιστήσομαι ὥσπερ τοὺς λυττῶντας τῶν κυνῶν.

have said the same to you if you had chosen the school of Plato or Aristotle and condemned the rest without a trial. As it is, you have given pride of place to the Stoics, and so the argument has seemed to be directed against the Stoa, although it had no particular grudge against it.

HERMOTIMUS

You are right. I am going away to do just that—to make a change—of dress as well. You will soon see me without this big, shaggy beard. I shall not punish my daily life, but all will be liberty and freedom. Perhaps I shall even put on purple, to show everybody that I've no part in that nonsense now. Could I but spew out all that I have heard from them! I can tell you that I would not flinch from drinking hellebore, for the opposite reason to Chrysippus—to remember their doctrines no more. So it is no small favour that I owe you, Lycinus: you came and pulled me out when I was being carried away by a rough, turbid torrent, giving myself to it and going with the stream. You were a "God from the machine," as in the play. I think I might well shave my head like free men who are saved from shipwreck, to give thanks for salvation today now that I have had so heavy a mist shaken off my eyes. If in the future I ever meet a philosopher while I am walking on the road, even by chance, I will turn round and get out of his way as if he were a mad dog.

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[1] *ἄξων* N; *ἄξειν* Γ.
[2] *ὁδῷ* Fritzsche: *ἐν ὁδῷ* MSS.

TO ONE WHO SAID, "YOU'RE A PROMETHEUS IN WORDS"

A short piece on the blending of dialogue and comedy into a new genre, with a hint of pride at Lucian's achievement in effecting the marriage.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΙΠΟΝΤΑ, ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΕΙ ΕΝ ΛΟΓΟΙΣ

1 Οὐκοῦν Προμηθέα με εἶναι φής; εἰ μὲν κατὰ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄριστε, ὡς πηλίνων κἀμοὶ τῶν ἔργων ὄντων, γνωρίζω τὴν εἰκόνα καί φημι ὅμοιος εἶναι αὐτῷ, οὐδ' ἀναίνομαι πηλοπλάθος ἀκούειν, εἰ καὶ φαυλότερος ἐμοὶ ὁ πηλὸς οἷος ἐκ τριόδου, βόρβορός τις παρὰ μικρόν. εἰ δὲ ὑπερεπαινῶν τοὺς λόγους ὡς δῆθεν εὐμηχάνους ὄντας τὸν σοφώτατον τῶν Τιτάνων ἐπιφημίζεις αὐτοῖς, ὅρα μή τις εἰρωνείαν φῇ καὶ μυκτῆρα οἷον τὸν Ἀττικὸν προσεῖναι τῷ ἐπαίνῳ. ἢ πόθεν γὰρ εὐμήχανον τοὐμόν; τίς δὲ ἡ περιττὴ σοφία καὶ προμήθεια ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν; ὡς ἔμοιγε ἱκανόν εἰ μὴ πάνυ σοι γήϊνα ἔδοξεν μηδὲ κομιδῇ ἄξια τοῦ Καυκάσου. καίτοι πόσῳ δικαιότερον ὑμεῖς ἂν εἰκάζοισθε τῷ Προμηθεῖ, ὁπόσοι ἐν δίκαις εὐδοκιμεῖτε ξὺν ἀληθείᾳ ποιούμενοι τοὺς ἀγῶνας. ζῶα γοῦν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἔμψυχα ὑμῖν τὰ ἔργα, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ τὸ θερμὸν αὐτῶν ἐστι διάπυρον· καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ Προμηθέως ἂν εἴη, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἑνὶ[1] διαλλάττοιτε, ὅτι μὴ[2] ἐκ πηλοῦ πλάττετε ἀλλὰ χρυσᾶ ὑμῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰ πλάσματα.

[1] μὴ N: μὲν γ: μὴ ἑνὶ Fritzsche.

TO ONE WHO SAID "YOU'RE A PROMETHEUS IN WORDS"

So you say I am a Prometheus? If by this, my friend, you mean that my works like his are of clay, I accept the comparison and agree that I am like him. I don't object to being called a clay-worker, even if my mud is rather dirty stuff from a road-junction, little better than filth. But if you are over-praising my words, implying that they are well wrought and graciously assigning the name of the wisest of the Titans to them, you may find that people will detect irony and an Attic sniff in your praise. In what way is my work well wrought? What superlative wisdom and Promethean foresight is there in my writings? I am quite content if you thought them not too earthy, not quite worthy of the Caucasus. Yet how much more just would it be to compare to Prometheus all you people who win fame by fighting real battles in the courts! What you do is truly alive and breathing and, yes, its heat is that of fire.[1] This too is from Prometheus with the sole difference that what you fashion is not clay but in many cases your fictions are golden.

[1] Prometheus stole fire and gave it to mortals.

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[2] μηδὲ MSS.: μὴ Reitz.

2 Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐς τὰ πλήθη παριόντες καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας τῶν ἀκροάσεων ἐπαγγέλλοντες εἴδωλα ἄττα ἐπιδεικνύμεθα, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἐν πηλῷ, καθάπερ ἔφην μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν, ἡ πλαστικὴ κατὰ ταὐτὰ τοῖς κοροπλάθοις· τὰ δ' ἄλλα οὔτε κίνησις ὁμοία πρόσεστιν οὔτε ψυχῆς δεῖγμά τι, ἀλλὰ τέρψις ἄλλως καὶ παιδιὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα. ὥστε μοι ἐνθυμεῖσθαι ἔπεισι μὴ ἄρα οὕτω με Προμηθέα λέγεις [1] εἶναι ὡς ὁ κωμικὸς τὸν Κλέωνα· φησὶν δέ,[2] οἶσθα, περὶ αὐτοῦ·

Κλέων Προμηθεύς ἐστι μετὰ τὰ πράγματα.

καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς χυτρέας καὶ ἰπνοποιοὺς καὶ πάντας ὅσοι πηλουργοὶ Προμηθέας ἀπεκάλουν ἐπισκώπτοντες ἐς τὸν πηλὸν ἢ καὶ [3] τὴν ἐν πυρὶ οἶμαι τῶν σκευῶν ὄπτησιν. καὶ εἴ γε σοι τοῦτο βούλεται εἶναι ὁ Προμηθεύς, πάνυ εὐστόχως ἀποτετόξευται καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν δριμύτητα τῶν σκωμμάτων, ἐπεὶ καὶ εὔθρυπτα ἡμῖν τὰ ἔργα ὥσπερ ἐκείνοις τὰ χυτρίδια, καὶ μικρόν τις λίθον ἐμβαλὼν συντρίψειεν ἂν πάντα.[4]

3 Καίτοι, φαίη τις ἂν παραμυθούμενος, οὐ ταῦτα εἴκασέ σε [5] τῷ Προμηθεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸ καινουργὸν τοῦτο ἐπαινῶν καὶ μὴ πρός τι ἄλλο ἀρχέτυπον μεμιμημένον, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ὄντων ἀνθρώπων τέως ἐννοήσας αὐτοὺς ἀνέπλασεν, τοιαῦτα ζῷα μορφώσας καὶ διακοσμήσας ὡς εὐκίνητά τε εἴη καὶ ὀφθῆναι χαρίεντα. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἀρχιτέκτων αὐτὸς ἦν, συνειργάζετο δέ τι καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐμπνέουσα τὸν πηλὸν καὶ ἔμψυχα ποιοῦσα εἶναι

[1] λέγεις Schaefer : λέγοις MSS.

We however who come before a crowd and offer our lectures, such as they are, show you a few figurines, and our modelling is entirely in mud as I said just now, like that of doll-makers. In general there is no movement in them that corresponds to life nor any indication of breathing. No, the whole business is empty enjoyment and play. So it's occurring to me to wonder whether you are calling me Prometheus as the comic poet called Cleon Prometheus. He says of him, you remember,

"Cleon's a Prometheus after the event."

The very Athenians used to call potters and oven-workers and all workers in clay "Prometheuses," in jest at the clay or even perhaps the way they burn their products in the furnace. If your "Prometheus" means that, you have hit the mark well with an Attic pungency of wit, since our works too are as fragile as their pots—throw a little stone and you would smash the lot.

Yet someone might console me by saying "It was not in these respects that he compared you to Prometheus. No, he was praising your originality in following no exemplar, just as Prometheus at a time when no men existed fashioned them from his imagination, when he gave shape and form to such living creatures that they might move easily and be graceful to see. He was the master-craftsman, though Athena helped by breathing into the mud and

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[2] δὲ add. Dindorf.

[3] πηλὸν εἶναι N: πηλὸν εἶναι (καὶ written above) Γ: ἢ καὶ Lehmann.
[4] ἂν πάντα Jacobs: ἅπαντα MSS.
[5] εἴκασέ σε Dindorf: εἰκάσαι MSS.

τὰ πλάσματα. ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἂν εἴποι, πρός γε[1] *τὸ εὐφημότατον ἐξηγούμενος τὸ εἰρημένον, καὶ ἴσως οὗτος ὁ νοῦς ἦν τῷ λελεγμένῳ. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ πάνυ ἱκανόν, εἰ καινοποιεῖν δοκοίην, μηδὲ ἔχοι τις λέγειν ἀρχαιότερόν τι τοῦ πλάσματος οὗ τοῦτο ἀπόγονόν ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ εἰ μὴ καὶ χάριεν φαίνοιτο, αἰσχυνοίμην ἄν, εὖ ἴσθι, ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ ξυμπατήσας ἂν ἀφανίσαιμι. οὐδ' ἂν ὠφελήσειεν αὐτό, παρὰ γοῦν ἐμοί, ἡ καινότης, μὴ οὐχὶ συντετρῖφθαι ἄμορφον ὄν. καὶ εἴ γε μὴ οὕτω φρονοίην, ἄξιος ἂν εἶναι*[2] *μοι δοκῶ ὑπὸ ἑκκαίδεκα γυπῶν κείρεσθαι, οὐ συνιεὶς ὡς πολὺ ἀμορφότερα τὰ μετὰ τοῦ ξένου αὐτὸ*[3] *πεπονθότα.*

4 *Πτολεμαῖος γοῦν*[4] *ὁ Λάγου δύο καινὰ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἄγων, κάμηλόν τε Βακτριανὴν παμμέλαιναν καὶ δίχρωμον ἄνθρωπον, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἡμίτομον αὐτοῦ ἀκριβῶς μέλαν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἐς ὑπερβολὴν λευκόν, ἐπ' ἴσης δὲ μεμερισμένον, ἐς τὸ θέατρον συναγαγὼν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐπεδείκνυτο αὐτοῖς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ θεάματα καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ταῦτα, τὴν κάμηλον καὶ τὸν ἡμίλευκον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ᾤετο ἐκπλήξειν τῷ θεάματι. οἱ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὴν κάμηλον ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ ὀλίγου δεῖν ἔφυγον ἀναθορόντες, καίτοι χρυσῷ πᾶσα ἐκεκόσμητο καὶ ἁλουργίδι ἐπέστρωτο καὶ ὁ χαλινὸς ἦν λιθοκόλλητος, Δαρείου τινὸς ἢ Καμβύσου ἢ Κύρου αὐτοῦ κειμήλιον. πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἱ μεν πολλοὶ ἐγέλων, οἱ δέ τινες ὡς ἐπὶ τέρατι ἐμυσάττοντο. ὥστε ὁ Πτολεμαῖος συνεὶς ὅτι οὐκ εὐδοκιμεῖ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ θαυμάζεται ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἡ καινότης, ἀλλὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς*

[1] γε Reitz : τε MSS.

making the models live." That is what he might say, putting at least a gracious interpretation on your words, and perhaps that was what you meant. Yet I am not at all satisfied to be thought an innovator with no older model to father this work of mine. No, if it were not thought graceful as well, I should certainly be ashamed of it, believe me, and trample it under foot and destroy it. The originality would be no help, as far as I am concerned, to prevent the ugly thing's being obliterated. If I didn't think this, I should consider it right to have sixteen vultures tear me for not understanding how much uglier are the things which suffer this when they are combined with novelty.

Take an example. Ptolemy the son of Lagus brought two novelties to Egypt—a completely black Bactrian camel and a man of two colours, half jet-black and half dazzlingly white, the colours equally divided. He assembled the Egyptians in the theatre, where he put on a lot of other shows for them and lastly this, the black camel and the half-white man, thinking to amaze them by the spectacle. The spectators however took fright at the camel and all but jumped up and ran away—and that though the camel was adorned all over with gold and draped in sea-purple and the bridle was set with gems, the treasure of some Darius or Cambyses or Cyrus himself. As for the man, most of them laughed, but some were disgusted as at a monstrosity. So when Ptolemy realised that he got no credit in their eyes and the Egyptians did not admire the novelty but

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[2] *εἶναι* add. Schaefer.

[3] *αὐτὰ πεπονθότα* or *πεποιθότα* MSS.: *αὐτὸ* Marcilius.

[4] So Seager: *οὖν* MSS.

τὸ εὔρυθμον καὶ τὸ εὔμορφον κρίνουσι, μετέστησεν αὐτὰ καὶ [1] οὐκέτι διὰ τιμῆς ἦγεν ὡς πρὸ τοῦ. ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν κάμηλος ἀπέθανεν ἀμελουμένη, τὸν ἄνθρωπον δὲ τὸν διττὸν Θέσπιδι τῷ αὐλητῇ ἐδωρήσατο καλῶς αὐλήσαντι παρὰ τὸν πότον.

5 Δέδοικα δὲ μὴ καὶ τοὐμὸν κάμηλος ἐν Αἰγυπτίοις ᾖ, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι τὸν χαλινὸν ἔτι αὐτῆς θαυμάζωσι [2] καὶ τὴν ἁλουργίδα, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τὸ ἐκ δυοῖν τοῖν καλλίστοιν συγκεῖσθαι, διαλόγου καὶ κωμῳδίας, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀπόχρη εἰς εὐμορφίαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἡ μῖξις ἐναρμόνιος καὶ κατὰ τὸ σύμμετρον γίγνοιτο. ἔστι γοῦν ἐκ δύο καλῶν ἀλλόκοτον τὴν ξυνθήκην εἶναι, οἷον ἐκεῖνο τὸ προχειρότατον, ὁ ἱπποκένταυρος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν φαίης ἐπέραστόν τι ζῷον τουτὶ γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑβριστότατον, εἰ χρὴ πιστεύειν τοῖς ζωγράφοις ἐπιδεικνυμένοις τὰς παροινίας καὶ σφαγὰς αὐτῶν. τί οὖν; οὐχὶ καὶ ἔμπαλιν γένοιτ' ἂν εὔμορφόν τι ἐκ δυοῖν τοῖν ἀρίστοιν ξυντεθέν, ὥσπερ ἐξ οἴνου καὶ μέλιτος τὸ ξυναμφότερον ἥδιστον; φημὶ ἔγωγε. οὐ μὴν περί γε τῶν ἐμῶν ἔχω διατείνεσθαι ὡς τοιούτων ὄντων, ἀλλὰ δέδια μὴ τὸ ἑκατέρου κάλλος ἡ μῖξις συνέφθειρεν.

6 Οὐ πάνυ γοῦν συνήθη καὶ φίλα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἦν ὁ διάλογος καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία, εἴ γε ὁ μὲν οἴκοι καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ νὴ Δία ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις μετ' ὀλίγων τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο, ἡ δὲ παραδοῦσα τῷ Διονύσῳ ἑαυτὴν θεάτρῳ ὡμίλει καὶ ξυνέπαιζε καὶ ἐγελωτοποίει καὶ ἐπέσκωπτε καὶ ἐν ῥυθμῷ ἔβαινε πρὸς αὐλὸν ἐνίοτε καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἀναπαίστοις μέτροις ἐποχουμένη τὰ πολλά. τοὺς δὲ [3] τοῦ διαλόγου ἑταίρους ἐχλεύαζε φροντιστὰς καὶ μετεωρολέσχας

set more store on beauty of form and line, he sent them away and esteemed them no longer as before. The camel died through neglect, and the half-and-half man he presented to Thespis the pipe-player for playing prettily at a carousal.

I am afraid that my work too is a camel in Egypt and people admire its bridle and its sea-purple, since even the combination of those two very fine creations, dialogue and comedy, is not enough for beauty of form if the blending lacks harmony and symmetry. The synthesis of two fine things can be a freak—the hippocentaur is an obvious example: you would not call this creature charming, rather a monstrosity, to go by the paintings of their drunken orgies and murders. Well then, can nothing beautiful come from the synthesis of two things of high quality, as the mixture of wine and honey is exceedingly pleasant? Yes, certainly. But I cannot maintain that this is the case with my two: I'm afraid that the beauty of each has been lost in the blending.

Dialogue and comedy were not entirely friendly and compatible from the beginning. Dialogue used to sit at home by himself and indeed spend his time in the public walks with a few companions; Comedy gave herself to Dionysus and joined him in the theatre, had fun with him, jested and joked, sometimes stepping in time to the pipe and generally riding on anapaests. Dialogue's companions she

[1] After καὶ MSS. have τὸν ἄνθρωπον: secl. Lehmann.
[2] Marcilius: θαυμάζουσι MSS.
[3] δὲ add. Bekker.

καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα προσαγορεύουσα. καὶ μίαν ταύτην προαίρεσιν [1] ἐπεποίητο ἐκείνους ἐπισκώπτειν καὶ τὴν Διονυσιακὴν ἐλευθερίαν καταχεῖν αὐτῶν, ἄρτι μὲν ἀεροβατοῦντας δεικνύουσα καὶ νεφέλαις ξυνόντας, ἄρτι δὲ ψυλλῶν πηδήματα διαμετροῦντας, ὡς δῆθεν τὰ ἀέρια λεπτολογουμένους. ὁ διάλογος δὲ σεμνοτάτας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς συνουσίας φύσεώς τε πέρι καὶ ἀρετῆς φιλοσοφῶν. ὥστε, τὸ τῶν μουσικῶν τοῦτο, δὶς διὰ πασῶν εἶναι τὴν ἁρμονίαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀξυτάτου ἐς τὸ βαρύτατον. καὶ ὅμως ἐτολμήσαμεν ἡμεῖς τὰ οὕτως ἔχοντα πρὸς ἄλληλα ξυναγαγεῖν καὶ ξυναρμόσαι οὐ πάνυ πειθόμενα οὐδὲ εὐμαρῶς ἀνεχόμενα τὴν κοινωνίαν.

7 Δέδια τοίνυν μὴ αὖθις ὅμοιόν τι τῷ Προμηθεῖ τῷ σῷ πεποιηκὼς φαίνωμαι τὸ θῆλυ τῷ ἄρρενι ἐγκαταμίξας καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸ δίκην ὑπόσχω. μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ κατ᾽ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτος ἂν φανείην,[2] ἐξαπατῶν ἴσως τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ ὀστᾶ παραθεὶς αὐτοῖς κεκαλυμμένα τῇ πιμελῇ, γέλωτα κωμικὸν ὑπὸ σεμνότητι φιλοσόφῳ. τὸ γὰρ τῆς κλεπτικῆς—καὶ γὰρ κλεπτικῆς ὁ θεός—ἄπαγε. τοῦτο μόνον οὐκ ἂν εἴποις ἐνεῖναι τοῖς ἡμετέροις. ἢ παρὰ τοῦ γὰρ ἂν ἐκλέπτομεν; εἰ μὴ ἄρα τις ἐμὲ διέλαθεν τοιούτους ἱπποκάμπους [3] καὶ τραγελάφους καὶ αὐτὸς συντεθεικώς. πλὴν ἀλλὰ τί ἂν πάθοιμι; ἐμμενετέον γὰρ οἷς ἅπαξ προειλόμην· ἐπεὶ τό γε μεταβουλεύεσθαι Ἐπιμηθέως ἔργον, οὐ Προμηθέως ἐστίν.

[1] So some late MSS.: προέλευσιν βγ.

[2] So Mras after Bekker, Fritzsche, Reitz: μὴ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτο some MSS.: καὶ · ἐξαπατῶν (sic) Γ.

[3] So Solanus: πιτυοκάμπτας MSS.

mocked as "Heavy-thinkers", "High-talkers", and suchlike. She had one delight—to deride them and drown them in Dionysiac liberties. She showed them now walking on air and mixing with the clouds, now measuring sandals for fleas[1]—her notion of heavenly subtleties, I suppose! Dialogue however took his conversations very seriously, philosophising about nature and virtue. So, in musical terms, there were two octaves between them, from highest to lowest. Nevertheless I have dared to combine them as they are into a harmony, though they are not in the least docile and do not easily tolerate partnership.

Well, I am afraid that I in my turn may seem to have acted something like your Prometheus in mixing female with male and may be charged with that; or rather that I may seem a Prometheus in another respect—in deceiving my listeners perhaps by giving them bones covered in fat,[2] comic jests under philosophic solemnity. For as to theft (he is the god of theft), away with that charge! this alone you could not say was in my works. Whom could I steal from? Unless someone has invented such fish-horses and goat-stags independently without my knowing. But what could I do? I must abide by what I chose once and for all. To change one's plan is the work of Epimetheus, not Prometheus.[3]

[1] In the *Clouds* of Aristophanes.
[2] See Hesiod, *Theogony* 537 ff.
[3] *I.e.*, Afterthought, not Forethought.

THE SHIP OR THE WISHES

A satire on the folly of human wishes. As in Plato's *Republic*, a visit to Piraeus leads to general discussion, with Lycinus, unlike Socrates, confining himself to an attack on the views of his companions. For a discussion on the " Isis " and her trip see L. Casson's article in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. 81 (1950), and B. S. J. Isserlin's note, *T.A.P.A.*, vol. 86 (1955), with Casson's reply, *ibid.* 87 (1956).

ΠΛΟΙΟΝ Η ΕΥΧΑΙ

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

1 Οὐκ ἐγὼ ἔλεγον ὅτι θᾶττον τοὺς γῦπας ἕωλος νεκρὸς ἐν φανερῷ κείμενος ἢ θέαμά τι τῶν παραδόξων Τιμόλαον διαλάθοι, κἂν εἰς Κόρινθον δέοι ἀπνευστὶ θέοντα ἀπιέναι διὰ τοῦτο; οὕτω φιλοθεάμων σύ γε καὶ ἄοκνος τὰ τοιαῦτα.

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

Τί γὰρ ἔδει ποιεῖν, ὦ Λυκῖνε, σχολὴν ἄγοντα πυθόμενον οὕτως ὑπερμεγέθη ναῦν καὶ πέρα τοῦ μέτρου ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταπεπλευκέναι μίαν τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐς Ἰταλίαν σιταγωγῶν; οἶμαι δὲ καὶ σφώ, σέ τε καὶ Σάμιππον τουτονί, μὴ κατ' ἄλλο τι ἐξ ἄστεος ἥκειν ἢ ὀψομένους τὸ πλοῖον.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Νὴ Δία, καὶ Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Μυρρινούσιος εἵπετο μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπου νῦν ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ἀποπλανηθεὶς ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν θεατῶν. ἄχρι μὲν γὰρ τῆς νεὼς ἅμα ἤλθομεν καὶ ἀνιόντες ἐς αὐτήν, σὺ μέν, οἶμαι, Σάμιππε, προήεις, μετὰ σὲ δὲ ὁ Ἀδείμαντος ἦν, εἶτ' ἐγὼ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐχόμενος αὐτοῦ ἀμφοτέραις, καί με διὰ τῆς ἀποβάθρας ὅλης παρέπεμψε χειραγωγῶν ὑποδεδεμένον ἀνυπόδητος αὐτὸς ὤν, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ οὐκέτι αὐτὸν εἶδον οὔτε ἔνδον οὔτε ἐπεὶ κατεληλύθαμεν.

THE SHIP OR THE WISHES

LYCINUS

Didn't I say that it was easier for vultures to miss a stinking corpse in the open than for Timolaus to miss an odd sight, even if he had to run off to Corinth for it without a pause for breath? You are so fond of shows, and so determined in such matters.

TIMOLAUS

What should I have done, then, Lycinus, having nothing to do, and hearing that such a huge boat, exceptionally large, had put into Piraeus, one of the Egyptian grain ships on its way to Italy? I fancy that you two, you and Samippus here, have come from Athens for exactly the same reason, to see the ship.

LYCINUS

That is so, and Adimantus of Myrrinous[1] came along with us, but I don't know where he is now; he has wandered off in the crowd of spectators. Until we reached the ship and went aboard, you, I think, Samippus, were in front, and then came Adimantus, and next I myself, holding on to him with both hands; he led me by the hand all the way up the gangway—I had shoes on, he was barefoot—but then I didn't see him again either on board or when we came back to the shore.

[1] A deme in Attica.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

2 Οἶσθα οὖν, ὦ Λυκῖνε, ὅπου ἡμᾶς ἀπέλιπεν; ὁπότε, οἶμαι, τὸ ὡραῖον ἐκεῖνο μειράκιον ἐκ τῆς θαλάμης προῆλθε τὸ τὴν καθαρὰν ὀθόνην ἐνδεδυκός, ἀναδεδεμένον ἐς τοὐπίσω τὴν κόμην ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τοῦ μετώπου ἀπηγμένην. εἰ τοίνυν ἐγὼ Ἀδείμαντον οἶδα, οἶμαι, γλαφυρὸν οὕτω θέαμα ἐκεῖνος ἰδὼν μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσας τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ ναυπηγῷ περιηγουμένῳ τὸ πλοῖον παρέστηκε δακρύων, ὥσπερ εἴωθε. ταχύδακρυς γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐς τὰ ἐρωτικά.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μὴν οὐ πάνυ καλός, ὦ Σάμιππε, ὁ μειρακίσκος ἔδοξέ μοι, ὡς ἂν καὶ Ἀδείμαντον ἐκπλῆξαι, ᾧ τοσοῦτοι Ἀθήνησι καλοὶ ἕπονται, πάντες ἐλεύθεροι, στωμύλοι τὸ φθέγμα, παλαίστρας ἀποπνέοντες, οἷς καὶ παραδακρῦσαι οὐκ ἀγεννές. οὗτος δὲ πρὸς τῷ μελάγχρους εἶναι καὶ πρόχειλός ἐστι καὶ λεπτὸς ἄγαν τοῖν σκελοῖν, καὶ ἐφθέγγετο ἐπισεσυρμένον τι καὶ συνεχὲς καὶ ἐπίτροχον, Ἑλληνιστὶ μέν, ἐς τὸ πάτριον δὲ τῷ ψόφῳ καὶ τῷ τῆς φωνῆς τόνῳ, ἡ κόμη δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὐπίσω ὁ πλόκαμος συνεσπειραμένος οὐκ ἐλεύθερόν [1] φησιν αὐτὸν εἶναι.

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

3 Τοῦτο μὲν εὐγενείας, ὦ Λυκῖνε, σημεῖόν ἐστιν Αἰγυπτίοις [2] ἡ κόμη. ἅπαντες γὰρ αὐτὴν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι παῖδες ἀναπλέκονται ἔστε πρὸς τὸ ἐφηβικόν, ἔμπαλιν ἢ οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν, οἷς ἐδόκει καλὸν εἶναι κομᾶν τοὺς γέροντας ἀναδουμένους κρωβύλον ὑπὸ τέττιγι χρυσῷ ἀνειλημμένον.

SAMIPPUS

Do you know at what point he left us, Lycinus? I think it was when that pretty lad came out of the hold, the one in pure white linen, with his hair tied back over both sides of his forehead. If I know Adimantus, I think that when he saw that dainty sight he bade a long farewell to the Egyptian shipwright who was showing us round the ship, and just stood there, weeping as usual. He's quick at tears when Cupid's about.

LYCINUS

Well, Samippus, the young lad didn't seem to me very pretty, not enough to excite Adimantus at any rate. He has a crowd of beauties following him in Athens, all of them free-born, full of chatter, and breathing wrestling-schools; it wouldn't be ignoble even to weep in their presence. This fellow is not only dark-skinned, but thick-lipped and too thin in the leg. He spoke in a slovenly manner, one long, continuous prattle; he spoke Greek, but his accent and intonation pointed to his native-land. His hair coiled in a plait behind shows he is not freeborn.

TIMOLAUS

This is a sign of high birth in Egypt, Lycinus. All the free-born boys plait it until they come of age; it's just the opposite to our ancestors, who thought it comely for old men to fasten up their hair in a knot, with a golden cicada-brooch to hold it.

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[1] ἐλεύθερον Solanus: ἐλευθέριον MSS.
[2] Αἰγυπτίοις Ω: Αἰγυπτίας ΓΝ.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Εὖ γε, ὦ Τιμόλαε, ὅτι ἡμᾶς ἀναμιμνήσκεις τῶν Θουκυδίδου συγγραμμάτων, ἃ ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἡμῶν τρυφῆς εἶπεν ἐν τοῖς Ἴωσιν, ὁπότε οἱ τότε συναπῴκισαν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

4 Ἀτάρ, ὦ Σάμιππε, νῦν ἀνεμνήσθην, ὁπόθεν ἡμῶν ἀπελείφθη Ἀδείμαντος, ὅτε παρὰ τὸν ἱστὸν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἕστημεν ἀναβλέποντες, ἀριθμοῦντες τῶν βυρσῶν τὰς ἐπιβολὰς καὶ θαυμάζοντες ἀνιόντα τὸν ναύτην διὰ τῶν κάλων, εἶτα ἐπὶ τῆς κεραίας ἄνω ἀσφαλῶς διαθέοντα τῶν κεροιάκων ἐπειλημμένον.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Εὖ λέγεις. τί δ' οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς; ἐνταῦθα καραδοκεῖν αὐτόν, ἢ ἐθέλεις ἐγὼ αὖθις ἐπάνειμι ἐς τὸ πλοῖον;

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

Μηδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ προΐωμεν. εἰκὸς γὰρ ἤδη παρεληλυθέναι ἐκεῖνον ἀποσοβοῦντα ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ἐπεὶ μηκέθ' ἡμᾶς εὑρεῖν ἐδύνατο. εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλ' οἶδε τὴν ὁδὸν Ἀδείμαντος, καὶ δέος οὐδὲν μὴ ἀπολειφθεὶς ἡμῶν ἀποβουκοληθῇ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ὁρᾶτε, μὴ σκαιὸν ᾖ φίλον ἀπολιπόντας αὐτοὺς ἀπιέναι. βαδίζωμεν δ' ὅμως, εἰ καὶ Σαμίππῳ τοῦτο δοκεῖ.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα δοκεῖ, ἤν πως ἀνεῳγυῖαν ἔτι τὴν
5 παλαίστραν καταλάβωμεν. ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ λόγων,

SAMIPPUS

Good, Timolaus; you remind me of Thucydides, where he writes in the introduction to his work about our ancient luxury among the Ionians, when the people of that time went away to found colonies together.[1]

LYCINUS

Oh, now I remember where Adimantus left us, Samippus: when we stood a long time by the mast, looking up and counting the layers of hide, and marvelling at the sailor going up among the shrouds and then running quite safely along the yardarm up there holding on to the ropes.

SAMIPPUS

Good! Then what must we do now? Wait for him here? Or would you like me to go back again to the ship?

TIMOLAUS

Oh, no, let us go on. He has probably already passed us, rushing off to the city, when he couldn't find us again. In any case Adimantus knows the road, and there is no danger of his going astray if we desert him.

LYCINUS

Isn't it rather churlish to go off and leave a friend? But let us walk on all the same, if Samippus agrees.

SAMIPPUS

Certainly; we may find the gymnasium still open. Incidentally, what a huge ship! A hundred and

[1] Thucydides I, vi.

ἡλίκη ναῦς, εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν πήχεων ἔλεγε ὁ ναυπηγός τὸ μῆκος, εὖρος δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ τέταρτον μάλιστα τούτου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐς τὸν πυθμένα, ᾗ βαθύτατον κατὰ τὸν ἄντλον, ἐννέα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι. τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα ἡλίκος μὲν ὁ ἱστός, ὅσην δὲ ἀνέχει τὴν κεραίαν, οἵῳ δὲ προτόνῳ συνέχεται, ὡς δὲ ἡ πρύμνα μὲν ἐπανέστηκεν ἠρέμα καμπύλη χρυσοῦν χηνίσκον ἐπικειμένη, καταντικρὺ δὲ ἀνάλογον ἡ πρῷρα ὑπερβέβηκεν ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἀπομηκυνομένη, τὴν ἐπώνυμον τῆς νεὼς θεὸν ἔχουσα τὴν Ἶσιν ἑκατέρωθεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλος κόσμος, αἱ γραφαὶ καὶ τοῦ ἱστίου τὸ παράσειον πυραυγές, καὶ πρὸ τούτων αἱ ἄγκυραι καὶ στροφεῖα καὶ περιαγωγεῖς καὶ αἱ κατὰ[1] τὴν πρύμναν
6 οἰκήσεις θαυμάσια πάντα μοι ἔδοξεν. καὶ τὸ τῶν ναυτῶν πλῆθος στρατοπέδῳ ἄν τις εἰκάσειεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ τοσοῦτον ἄγειν σῖτον, ὡς ἱκανὸν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐνιαύσιον πρὸς τροφήν. κἀκεῖνα πάντα μικρός τις ἀνθρωπίσκος γέρων ἤδη ἔσωζεν ὑπὸ λεπτῇ κάμακι τὰ τηλικαῦτα πηδάλια περιστρέφων· ἐδείχθη γάρ μοι ἀναφαλαντίας τις, οὖλος, Ἥρων, οἶμαι, τοὔνομα.

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

Θαυμάσιος τὴν τέχνην, ὡς ἔφασκον οἱ ἐμπλέοντες, καὶ τὰ θαλάττια σοφὸς ὑπὲρ τὸν Πρωτέα.
7 ἠκούσατε δὲ ὅπως δεῦρο κατήγαγε τὸ πλοῖον, οἷα ἔπαθον πλέοντες ἢ ὡς ὁ ἀστὴρ αὐτοὺς ἔσωσεν;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὔκ, ὦ Τιμόλαε, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἡδέως ἂν ἀκούσαιμεν.

twenty cubits long, the ship-wright said, and well over a quarter as wide, and from deck to bottom, where it is deepest, in the bilge, twenty-nine. Then, what a tall mast, what a yard to carry! What a fore-stay to hold it up! How gently the poop curves up, with a little golden goose below! And correspondingly at the opposite end, the prow juts right out in front, with figures of the goddess, Isis, after whom the ship is named, on either side. And the other decorations, the paintings and the topsail blazing like fire, anchors in front of them, and capstans, and windlasses, and the cabins on the poop—all very wonderful to me. You could put the number of sailors at an army of soldiers. She was said to carry corn enough to feed all Attica for a year. And all this a little old man, a wee fellow, has kept from harm by turning the huge rudders with a tiny tiller. He was pointed out to me—a man with receding curly hair. Hērōn was his name, I believe.

TIMOLAUS

He was wonderful at his job, those aboard said: wiser than Proteus at things to do with the sea. Did you hear how he brought the ship here, what happened to those on board, and how they were saved by a star?

LYCINUS

No, Timolaus, but I'd very much like to.

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[1] κατὰ Seager : μετὰ MSS.

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

Ὁ ναύκληρος αὐτὸς διηγεῖτό μοι, χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ
καὶ προσομιλῆσαι δεξιός. ἔφη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Φάρου
ἀπάραντας οὐ πάνυ βιαίῳ πνεύματι ἑβδομαίους
ἰδεῖν τὸν Ἀκάμαντα, εἶτα ζεφύρου ἀντιπνεύσαντος
ἀπενεχθῆναι πλαγίους ἄχρι Σιδῶνος, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ
χειμῶνι μεγάλῳ περιπεσόντας δεκάτῃ ἐπὶ Χελι-
δονέας διὰ τοῦ Αὐλῶνος ἐλθεῖν, ἔνθα δὴ παρὰ
8 μικρὸν ὑποβρυχίους δῦναι ἅπαντας. οἶδα δέ ποτε
παραπλεύσας καὶ αὐτὸς Χελιδονέας ἡλίκον ἐν τῷ
τόπῳ ἀνίσταται τὸ κῦμα, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὸν
λίβα, ὁπόταν ἐπιλάβῃ καὶ τοῦ νότου· κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο
γὰρ δὴ συμβαίνει μερίζεσθαι τὸ Παμφύλιον ἀπὸ
τῆς Λυκιακῆς θαλάττης, καὶ ὁ κλύδων ἅτε ἀπὸ
πολλῶν ῥευμάτων περὶ τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ σχιζόμενος
—ἀπόξυροι δέ εἰσι πέτραι καὶ ὀξεῖαι παραθηγόμε-
ναι τῷ κλύσματι—καὶ φοβερωτάτην ποιεῖ τὴν
κυματωγὴν καὶ τὸν ἦχον μέγαν, καὶ τὸ κῦμα
9 πολλάκις αὐτῷ ἰσομέγεθες τῷ σκοπέλῳ. τοιαῦτα
καὶ σφᾶς καταλαβεῖν ἔφασκεν ὁ ναύκληρος ἔτι
καὶ νυκτὸς οὔσης καὶ ζόφου ἀκριβοῦς. ἀλλὰ πρὸς
τὴν οἰμωγὴν αὐτῶν ἐπικλασθέντας τοὺς θεοὺς πῦρ
τε ἀναδεῖξαι ἀπὸ τῆς Λυκίας, ὡς γνωρίσαι τὸν
τόπον ἐκεῖνον, καί τινα λαμπρὸν ἀστέρα Διοσκού-
ρων τὸν ἕτερον ἐπικαθίσαι τῷ καρχησίῳ καὶ
κατευθῦναι τὴν ναῦν ἐπὶ τὰ λαιὰ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος
ἤδη τῷ κρημνῷ προσφερομένην. τοὐντεῦθεν δὲ
ἅπαξ τῆς ὀρθῆς ἐκπεσόντας διὰ τοῦ Αἰγαίου
πλεύσαντας ἑβδομηκοστῇ ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου ἡμέρᾳ
πρὸς ἀντίους τοὺς ἐτησίας πλαγιάζοντας ἐς Πειραιᾶ
χθὲς καθορμίσασθαι τοσοῦτον ἀποσυρέντας ἐς τὸ

TIMOLAUS

The captain himself told me—a good man, and good company. When they left Pharos, he said, the wind was not very strong, and they sighted Acamas in seven days. Then it blew against them from the west, and they were driven abeam to Sidon. After Sidon a severe storm broke and carried them through Aulon to reach the Chelidonenses on the tenth day. There they were all nearly drowned. I myself have sailed by the Chelidonenses, and I know the size of the waves there, especially in a sou'westerly gale with a touch of south; this, you see, happens to be where the Pamphylian and Lycian seas divide. The swell is driven by numerous currents and is split on the headland—the rocks are knife-edged, razor-sharp at the sea's edge. So the breakers are terrifying and make a great din, and the wave is often as high as the cliff itself. This is what the captain said they found when it was still night and pitch dark. But the gods were moved by their lamentations, and showed fire from Lycia, so that they knew the place. One of the Dioscuri [1] put a bright star [2] on the masthead, and guided the ship in a turn to port into the open sea, just as it was driving on to the cliff. Then, having now lost their course, they sailed across the Aegean beating up with the trade winds against them, and yesterday, seventy days after leaving Egypt, they anchored in Piraeus, after being driven

[1] Castor and Pollux, guides to mariners.
[2] St. Elmo's Fire.

κάτω, οὓς ἔδει τὴν Κρήτην δεξιὰν λαβόντας ὑπὲρ τὴν [1] Μαλέαν πλεύσαντας ἤδη εἶναι ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Νὴ Δία, θαυμάσιόν τινα φὴς κυβερνήτην τὸν
Ἥρωνα ἢ τοῦ Νηρέως ἡλικιώτην, ὃς τοσοῦτον
10 ἀπεσφάλη τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; οὐκ Ἀδεί-
μαντος ἐκεῖνός ἐστι;

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, Ἀδείμαντος αὐτός. ἐμβοήσωμεν οὖν. Ἀδείμαντε, σέ φημι τὸν Μυρρινούσιον τὸν Στρομβίχου.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Δυεῖν θάτερον, ἢ δυσχεραίνει καθ' ἡμῶν ἢ
ἐκκεκώφωται. Ἀδείμαντος γάρ, οὐκ ἄλλος τίς
ἐστι. Πάνυ ἤδη σαφῶς ὁρῶ, καὶ θοἰμάτιον αὐτοῦ
καὶ τὸ βάδισμα ἐκείνου, καὶ ἐν χρῷ ἡ κουρά.
ἐπιτείνωμεν δὲ ὅμως τὸν περίπατον, ὡς καταλάβω-
11 μεν αὐτόν. ἢν μὴ τοῦ ἱματίου λαβόμενοί σε
ἐπιστρέψωμεν, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, οὐχ ὑπακούσει [2]
ἡμῖν βοῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φροντίζοντι ἔοικας ἐπὶ
συννοίας τινὸς οὐ μικρὸν οὐδὲ εὐκαταφρόνητον
πρᾶγμα, ὡς δοκεῖς, ἀνακυκλῶν.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Οὐδέν, ὦ Λυκῖνε, χαλεπόν, ἀλλά με κενή τις ἔννοια μεταξὺ βαδίζοντα ὑπελθοῦσα παρακοῦσαι ὑμῶν ἐποίησεν ἀτενὲς πρὸς αὐτὴν ἅπαντι τῷ λογισμῷ ἀποβλέποντα.

[1] τὴν Reitz : τὸν MSS.
[2] ὑπακούσει Jacobitz : ὑπακούσεις MSS.

so far downwind. They should have kept Crete to starboard, and sailed beyond Malea so as to be in Italy by now.

LYCINUS

Upon my word, that's an amazing pilot you speak of, this Heron, as old as Nereus,[1] who went so far astray. But what's this? Is that not Adimantus?

TIMOLAUS

So it is; Adimantus himself. Let's give him a shout, Adimantus! You! Of Myrrinous! Strombichus's son!

LYCINUS

Well, either he's annoyed with us or he's gone deaf. It's certainly Adimantus and no other. I see him now quite plainly—his cloak, his walk, his close-crop. Let's put on speed, anyhow, and catch him up. We shall have to pull you back by your cloak, Adimantus; you take no notice when we shout. You seem thoughtful, as though you're turning over something serious and important in your mind.

ADIMANTUS

Nothing bothersome, Lycinus; an empty notion came into my head as I was walking along and made me deaf to your shouting, I was so wrapped up in my thoughts.

[1] The old man of the sea.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τίς αὕτη; μὴ γὰρ ὀκνήσῃς εἰπεῖν, εἰ μή τίς ἐστι τῶν πάνυ ἀπορρήτων. καίτοι ἐτελέσθημεν, ὡς οἶσθα, καὶ σιγᾶν [1] μεμαθήκαμεν.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Ἀλλ' αἰσχύνομαι ἔγωγε εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. οὕτω γὰρ μειρακιῶδες ὑμῖν δόξει τὸ φρόντισμα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Μῶν ἐρωτικόν τί ἐστιν; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀμυήτοις ἡμῖν ἐξαγορεύσεις, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ λαμπρᾷ τῇ δᾳδὶ καὶ αὐτοῖς τετελεσμένοις.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Οὐδέν, ὦ θαυμάσιε, τοιοῦτον, ἀλλά τινα πλοῦτον ἐμαυτῷ ἀνεπλαττόμην, ἣν κενὴν μακαρίαν οἱ πολλοὶ [2] καλοῦσιν, καί μοι ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς περιουσίας καὶ τρυφῆς ἐπέστητε.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

12 Οὐκοῦν τὸ προχειρότατον τοῦτο, κοινὸς Ἑρμᾶς φασι, καὶ ἐς μέσον κατατίθει φέρων τὸν πλοῦτον. ἄξιον γὰρ ἀπολαῦσαι τὸ μέρος φίλους ὄντας τῆς Ἀδειμάντου τρυφῆς.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Ἀπελείφθην μὲν ὑμῶν εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἐπιβάσει, ἐπεὶ σέ, ὦ Λυκῖνε, κατέστησα ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλές. περιμετροῦντος γάρ μου τῆς ἀγκύρας τὸ πάχος οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπου ὑμεῖς ἀπέστητε.
13 Ἰδὼν δὲ ὅμως τὰ πάντα ἠρόμην τινὰ τῶν ναυτῶν, ὁπόσην ἀποφέρει ἡ ναῦς τῷ δεσπότῃ ὡς

[1] σιγᾶν Solanus: σέ γ' ἂν MSS.

LYCINUS

What was it? Don't be shy, unless it's completely forbidden to tell it. We've been initiated, as you know, and learnt to hold our tongues.

ADIMANTUS

I'm ashamed to tell you. You will think it such a childish idea.

LYCINUS

Nothing to do with love, is it? You certainly won't be telling it to the unenlightened! We too have been initiated, under a torch which was blazing!

ADIMANTUS

Nothing of that kind, my dear fellow. It was just a dream of wealth—what everybody calls " empty bliss ", and you caught me at the height of my fortune and luxury.

LYCINUS

Well, that's very simple. Share your luck, as they say; bring your wealth and pool it. His friends should enjoy their part of Adimantus's luxury.

ADIMANTUS

I was separated from you as soon as we were on board, Lycinus, after bringing you there safely. I was measuring the width of the anchors when you went off somewhere. All the same I looked at everything and then asked one of the sailors what

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[2] πολλοὶ ΓΝΦ: παλαιοὶ other MSS.

ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ κατ᾽ ἔτος ἕκαστον τὴν μισθοφορίαν. ὁ δέ μοι, Δώδεκα, ἔφη, Ἀττικὰ τάλαντα, εἰ πρὸς τοὐλάχιστόν τις λογίζοιτο. τοὐντεῦθεν οὖν ἐπανιὼν ἐλογιζόμην, εἴ τις θεῶν τὴν ναῦν ἄφνω ἐμὴν ποιήσειεν εἶναι, οἷον ἄν, ὡς εὐδαίμονα βίον ἐπεβίωσα εὖ ποιῶν τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐπιπλέων ἐνίοτε μὲν αὐτός, ἐνίοτε δὲ οἰκέτας ἐκπέμπων. εἶτα ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα ἐκείνων ταλάντων οἰκίαν τε ἤδη ᾠκοδομησάμην ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν Ποικίλην, τὴν παρὰ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἐκείνην τὴν πατρῴαν ἀφείς, καὶ οἰκέτας ὠνούμην καὶ ἐσθῆτας καὶ ζεύγη καὶ ἵππους. νυνὶ δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἔπλεον ὑφ᾽ ἁπάντων εὐδαιμονιζόμενος τῶν ἐπιβατῶν φοβερὸς τοῖς ναύταις καὶ μονονουχὶ βασιλεὺς νομιζόμενος. ἔτι δέ μοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ναῦν εὐθετίζοντι καὶ ἐς λιμένα πόρρωθεν ἀποβλέποντι ἐπιστάς, ὦ Λυκῖνε, κατέδυσας τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ ἀνέτρεψας εὖ φερόμενον τὸ σκάφος οὐρίῳ τῆς εὐχῆς πνεύματι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

14 Οὐκοῦν, ὦ γενναῖε, λαβόμενός μου ἄπαγε πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ὥς τινα πειρατὴν ἢ καταποντιστήν, ὃς τηλικοῦτον ναυάγιον εἴργασμαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν γῇ κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. ἀλλὰ ὅρα ὅπως παραμυθήσομαί σου τὸ πταῖσμα· πέντε γάρ, εἰ βούλει, καλλίω καὶ μείζω τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου πλοίου ἤδη ἔχε, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον οὐδὲ καταδῦναι δυνάμενα, καὶ τάχα σοι πεντάκις ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κατ᾽ ἔτος ἕκαστον σιταγωγείτωσαν σιταγωγίαν, εἰ καί, ὦ ναυκλήρων ἄριστε, δῆλος εἶ ἀφόρητος ἡμῖν τότε γενησόμενος. ὃς γὰρ ἔτι ἑνὸς πλοίου τουτουὶ δεσπότης ὢν παρήκουες βοώντων, εἰ πέντε κτήσαιο

income the ship brought in to its owner in an average year. "A minimum of twelve Attic talents," he replied. Then I went back on shore and mused on what a happy life I should have had if of a sudden some god had made the ship mine: I would have helped my friends, and sailed in her myself sometimes, and sometimes sent my servants. Then with some of the twelve talents I had already built myself a house in a good spot just above the Painted Arcade,[1] giving up the family house by the Ilissus; and I was buying servants and clothes and carriages and horses. Just now I was at sea, the envy of the passengers and the terror of the crew; they thought me almost a king. I was still settling her affairs and gazing at the harbour in the distance when you turned up, Lycinus. You sank my wealth and capsized my bark just when she was sailing well before the fair wind of my wish.

LYCINUS

Well, my noble sir, arrest me and take me off to the general as a pirate or a rogue who tipped you overboard and made such a wreck of her—and that on shore on the road from Piraeus to town. But look, I'll make amends for my mistake: take here and now, if you will, five ships better and bigger than the Egyptian and, best of all, unsinkable. Let them bring perhaps five times the cargo of corn from Egypt every year, even if, most glorious of shipowners, you then become unbearable to us, as you clearly will. When you still owned this one ship you couldn't hear our shouts, and if you get five more, all three-masters

[1] In Athens.

πρὸς τούτῳ τριάρμενα πάντα καὶ ἀνώλεθρα, οὐδὲ ὄψει δηλαδὴ τοὺς φίλους. σὺ μὲν οὖν εὐπλόει, ὦ βέλτιστε, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καθεδούμεθα τοὺς [1] *ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἢ Ἰταλίας καταπλέοντας ἀνακρίνοντες, εἴ που τὸ μέγα Ἀδειμάντου πλοῖον τὴν Ἰσίν τις εἶδεν.*

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

15 *Ὁρᾷς; διὰ τοῦτο ὤκνουν εἰπεῖν ἃ ἐνενόουν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐν γέλωτι καὶ σκώμματι ποιήσεσθέ μου τὴν εὐχήν. ὥστε ἐπιστὰς μικρόν, ἔστ᾽ ἂν ὑμεῖς προχωρήσητε, ἀποπλευσοῦμαι πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς νεώς. πολὺ γὰρ ἄμεινον τοῖς ναύταις προσλαλεῖν ἢ ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν καταγελᾶσθαι.*

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Μηδαμῶς, ἐπεὶ συνεμβησόμεθά σοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιστάντες.[2]

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Ἀλλὰ ὑφαιρήσω τὴν ἀποβάθραν προεισελθών.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς γε προσνηξόμεθα ὑμῖν. μὴ γὰρ οἴου σοὶ μὲν εἶναι ῥᾴδιον τηλικαῦτα πλοῖα κτᾶσθαι μήτε πριαμένῳ μήτε ναυπηγησαμένῳ, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ αἰτήσομεν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους ἀκμῆτες δύνασθαι νεῖν; καίτοι πρῴην [3] *καὶ ἐς Αἴγιναν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ἐνοδίας τελετήν, οἶσθα, ἐν ἡλίκῳ σκαφιδίῳ πάντες ἅμα οἱ φίλοι τεττάρων ἕκαστος ὀβολῶν διεπλεύσαμεν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐδυσχέραινες ἡμᾶς συμπλέοντας, νῦν δὲ ἀγανακτεῖς, εἰ*

[1] So Dindorf: *καὶ τοὺς* MSS.
[2] *ἐπιστάντες* Guyet: *ὑποστάντες* MSS.
[3] *πρῴην* Jacobs and Lobeck: *πρῶτον* MSS.

and indestructible too, you'll obviously not even see your friends. A good voyage to you, good friend! We shall sit in Piraeus and ask new arrivals from Egypt or Italy if anyone has seen Adimantus's big ship the " Isis " anywhere.

ADIMANTUS

You see? That's why I hesitated to tell you what I was thinking. I knew that you would laugh and make fun of my wish. So I'll stay with you a little until you go on, and then sail away again on my ship. It's much better to talk to sailors than be laughed at by you.

LYCINUS

Don't do that. We'll stay too and go on board with you.

ADIMANTUS

Then I shall go on board first and pull up the gangway.

LYCINUS

Well, we shall swim to you. Surely you don't imagine that it's easy for you to get ships of that size without buying or building them, while we will not ask the gods to grant us the power to swim many miles without getting tired? Besides, two days ago we sailed over to Aegina to the rites of Our Lady of the Crossroads,[1] you know, in a little boat, all friends together at four obols each. You didn't object at all to our sailing with you. But now do you resent our going on board with you, and are you embarking

[1] Enodia, Hecate.

συνεμβησόμεθά σοι, καὶ τὴν ἀποβάθραν προεισελθὼν ἀφαιρεῖς; ὑπερμαζᾷς γάρ, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, καὶ ἐς τὸν κόλπον οὐ πτύεις, οὐδὲ οἶσθα ὅστις ὢν ναυκληρεῖς. οὕτως ἐπῆρέ σε ἡ οἰκία ἐν καλῷ τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομηθεῖσα καὶ τῶν ἀκολούθων τὸ πλῆθος. ἀλλ' ὦγαθέ, πρὸς τῆς Ἴσιδος κἂν τὰ Νειλῷα ταῦτα ταρίχη τὰ λεπτὰ μέμνησο ἡμῖν ἄγειν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἢ μύρον ἀπὸ τοῦ Κανώπου ἢ ἶβιν ἐκ Μέμφιδος, εἰ δὲ ἡ ναῦς ἐδύνατο, καὶ τῶν πυραμίδων μίαν.

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

16 *Ἅλις παιδιᾶς, ὦ Λυκῖνε. ὁρᾷς, ὡς ἐρυθριᾶν Ἀδείμαντον ἐποίησας πολλῷ τῷ γέλωτι ἐπικλύσας τὸ πλοῖον, ὡς ὑπέραντλον εἶναι καὶ μηκέτι ἀντέχειν πρὸς τὸ ἐπιρρέον;*

Καὶ ἐπείπερ ἔτι πολὺ ἡμῖν τὸ λοιπόν ἐστιν πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, διελόμενοι τετραχῇ τὴν ὁδὸν κατὰ τοὺς ἐπιβάλλοντας ἑκάστῳ [1] *σταδίους αἰτῶμεν ἅπερ ἂν δοκῇ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς ὅ τε κάματος λάθοι καὶ ἅμα εὐφρανούμεθα ὥσπερ ἡδίστῳ ὀνείρατι ἑκουσίῳ περιπεσόντες, ἐφ' ὅσον βουλόμεθα, εὖ ποιήσοντι ἡμᾶς· παρ' αὐτῷ γὰρ ἑκάστῳ ἔστω* [2] *τὸ μέτρον τῆς εὐχῆς, καὶ οἱ θεοὶ πάντα ὑποκείσθωσαν παρέξοντες, εἰ καὶ τῇ φύσει ἀπίθανα ἔσται. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐπίδειξις ἔσται τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅστις ἂν ἄριστα χρήσαιτο τῷ πλούτῳ καὶ τῇ εὐχῇ, δηλώσει γὰρ οἷος ἂν καὶ πλουτήσας ἐγένετο.*

[1] *ἑκάστῳ* Fritzsche confirmed by Γ *ἑκάστω* (sic): *ἕκαστος* other MSS.

first and taking the gangplank away? You're too full of beans, Adimantus, and you don't spit in your bosom,[1] and you don't remember who you are, you shipowner. You're so elated with your house, well situated as regards the city, and your crowd of retainers. But, my good friend, in the name of Isis remember to bring us those delicate pickled Nile fish from Egypt, perfume from Canopus, or an ibis from Memphis, and one of the Pyramids—if the ship can carry it.

TIMOLAUS

That's enough joking, Lycinus. Look how you've made Adimantus blush and overwhelmed his ship in a flood of laughter so that she's waterlogged and can't keep the sea out any more.

Now we've still some way to go to the city, so let us divide the journey into four, and each of us in his allotted furlongs ask the gods for whatever he wants. In this way we shan't notice the journey and at the same time we shall enjoy ourselves with a pleasant dream of our own choosing to bless us as long as we desire. Each one may decide the measure of his wish, and the gods may be supposed to grant it all, even if it is in essence improbable. Best of all it will show who would use his wealth and wish best, for it will show what sort of a man he would have been if he had been rich.

[1] Against bad luck.

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[2] ἔστω add. Fritzsche.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

17 Καλῶς, ὦ Τιμόλαε, καὶ πείθομαί σοι καὶ ὅταν ὁ καιρὸς καλῇ, εὔξομαι ἅπερ ἂν δοκῇ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ Ἀδείμαντος βούλεται, οὐδὲ ἐρωτᾶν οἶμαι, ὅς γε δὴ ἐν τῇ νηῒ τὸν ἕτερον πόδα ἔχει. χρὴ δὲ καὶ Λυκίνῳ δοκεῖν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἀλλὰ πλουτῶμεν, εἰ τοῦτο ἄμεινον, μὴ καὶ βασκαίνειν ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς εὐτυχίαις δοκῶ.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Τίς γοῦν πρῶτος ἄρξεται;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Σύ, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, εἶτα μετὰ σὲ οὑτοσὶ Σάμιππος, εἶτα Τιμόλαος, ἐγὼ δὲ ὀλίγον ὅσον ἡμιστάδιον τὸ πρὸ τοῦ Διπύλου ἐπιλήψομαι τῇ εὐχῇ, καὶ τοῦτο ὡς οἷόν τε παραδραμών.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

18 Οὐκοῦν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσομαι τῆς νεώς, ἀλλ', ἐπείπερ ἔξεστιν, ἐπιμετρήσω τῇ εὐχῇ. ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς ὁ κερδῷος ἐπινευσάτω ἅπασιν. ἔστω γὰρ τὸ πλοῖον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα ἐμὰ καὶ ὁ φόρτος οἱ ἔμποροι αἱ γυναῖκες οἱ ναῦται καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι ἥδιστον κτημάτων ἁπάντων.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Λέληθας σεαυτὸν ἔχων ἐν τῇ νηΐ.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Τὸν παῖδα φής, ὦ Σάμιππε, τὸν κομήτην. κἀκεῖνος οὖν ἔστω ἐμός. ὁπόσος δὲ ὁ πυρὸς

SAMIPPUS

Good, Timolaus. I agree. When the time comes I shall wish for what I want. I don't think we need even ask Adimantus if he is willing—he has one foot in the ship as it is. But Lycinus must agree.

LYCINUS

Well, if it's better so let us be rich. I'm not going to be envious amid your universal good-fortune.

ADIMANTUS

Well, who'll be first?

LYCINUS

You, Adimantus; then, after you, Samippus here; then Timolaus. I'll take about the last half-furlong before the Dipylon for my wish, even though I run through it as quickly as I can.

ADIMANTUS

Well, I shan't desert my ship even now. Indeed I'll add to my prayer since I'm allowed. May Hermes Lord of Profit give his consent to all! May the ship and all in her be mine—cargo, merchants, women, sailors, and every sweetest treasure in the world!

SAMIPPUS

You've forgotten something that you have on board.

ADIMANTUS

You mean the boy, Samippus, the one with long hair. May he be mine too! And let her cargo of

ἔνδον ἐστίν, οὗτος ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἅπας χρυσίον ἐπίσημον γενέσθω, τοσοῦτοι δαρεικοί.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

19 Τί τοῦτο, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε; καταδύσεταί σοι τὸ πλοῖον, οὐ γὰρ ἴσον βάρος πυροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἰσαρίθμου χρυσίου.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Μὴ φθόνει, ὦ Λυκῖνε, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν εἰς σὲ παρέλθῃ ἡ εὐχή, τὴν Πάρνηθα ἐκείνην, εἰ θέλεις, ὅλην χρυσῆν ποιήσας ἔχε, κἀγὼ σιωπήσομαί σοι.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τοῦτο ἔγωγε τῆς σῆς ἐποιησάμην, ὡς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι ἅπαντας μετὰ τοῦ χρυσίου. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑμέτερα μέτρια, τὸ μειράκιον δὲ τὸ ὡραῖον ἀποπνιγήσεται ἄθλιον νεῖν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενον.

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

Θάρρει, ὦ Λυκῖνε. οἱ δελφῖνες γὰρ αὐτὸ ὑποδύντες ἐξοίσουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. ἢ νομίζεις κιθαρῳδὸν μέν τινα σωθῆναι παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν μισθὸν ἀντὶ τῆς ᾠδῆς καὶ νεκρόν τι ἄλλο παιδίον ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ὁμοίως προσκομισθῆναι, τὸν δὲ Ἀδειμάντου οἰκέτην τὸν νεώνητον ἀπορήσειν δελφῖνος ἐρωτικοῦ;

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Καὶ σὺ γάρ, Τιμόλαε, μιμῇ Λυκῖνον καὶ ἐπιμετρεῖς τῶν σκωμμάτων, καὶ ταῦτα εἰσηγητὴς αὐτὸς γενόμενος;

wheat be changed entirely to minted gold, all darics.

LYCINUS

What's this, Adimantus? Your ship will sink. The weight of wheat and an equivalent volume of gold is not the same.

ADIMANTUS

Don't grudge it, Lycinus. When you come to your wish, make Parnes there, if you want, all of gold and have it so. I shan't say a word.

LYCINUS

I was thinking of your own safety, to avoid the loss of all hands with the gold. Indeed your prayer is moderate, but your pretty boy, poor wretch, will drown, not knowing how to swim.

TIMOLAUS

Cheer up, Lycinus. The dolphins will swim up under him and carry him to shore. A lyre-player [1] was saved by them and received the reward of his song, and the body of another boy [2] was taken in the same way to the Isthmus on a dolphin's back, so do you think Adimantus's newly-bought servant will be in want of a loving dolphin?

ADIMANTUS

You're copying Lycinus, Timolaus. You're piling up the quips. It was your idea, you know.

[1] Arion. [2] Melicertes.

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

20 Ἄμεινον γὰρ ἦν πιθανώτερον αὐτὸ ποιεῖν καί τινα θησαυρὸν ὑπὸ τῇ κλίνῃ ἀνευρεῖν, ὡς μὴ πράγματα ἔχοις ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου μετατιθεὶς χρυσίον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Εὖ λέγεις, καὶ ἀνορωρύχθω θησαυρὸς ὑπὸ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν λίθινον, ὅς ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, μέδιμνοι χίλιοι ἐπισήμου χρυσίου. εὐθὺς οὖν κατὰ τὸν Ἡσίοδον οἶκος τὸ πρῶτον, ὡς ἂν ἐπισημότατα οἰκοίην, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ πάντα ὠνησάμην ἤδη πλὴν ὅσα θύμον καὶ λίθοι,[1] καὶ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ὅσα ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ὀλίγα τῶν ἀγώνων ἕνεκα, εἴ ποτε δὴ τὰ Ἴσθμια ἐπιδημήσαιμι, καὶ τὸ Σικυώνιον πεδίον, καὶ ὅλως εἴ πού τι ἢ συνηρεφὲς ἢ ἔνυδρον ἢ εὔκαρπον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, πάντα ἐν ὀλίγῳ Ἀδειμάντου ἔσται. ὁ χρυσὸς δὲ κοῖλος ἡμῖν ἐμφαγεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἐκπώματα οὐ κοῦφα ὡς τὰ Ἐχεκράτους, ἀλλὰ διτάλαντον ἕκαστον τὴν ὁλκήν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

21 Εἶτα πῶς ὁ οἰνοχόος ὀρέξει πλῆρες οὕτω βαρὺ ἔκπωμα; ἢ σὺ δέξῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀμογητὶ οὐ σκύφον, ἀλλὰ Σισύφειόν τι βάρος ἀναδιδόντος;

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Ἄνθρωπε, μή μοι [2] ἀνάλυε τὴν εὐχήν. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὰς [3] τραπέζας ὅλας χρυσᾶς ποιήσομαι καὶ τὰς κλίνας χρυσᾶς, εἰ δὲ μὴ σιωπήσῃ, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους αὐτούς.

[1] So Γ: om. θύμον N: ὅσα ἰσθμοὶ καὶ πυθοὶ ΑΩ.
[2] μοι Fritzsche: με MSS.
[3] τὰς add. Halm.

TIMOLAUS

Better make it more credible and find some treasure under your bed. Then you won't have trouble in transferring the gold from the ship to Athens.

ADIMANTUS

You're quite right. Let treasure be dug up under the stone Hermes that's in my court, a thousand bushels of minted gold. Then immediately a house, as Hesiod says,[1] first, that I may be housed most splendidly. I have already bought up all the land round the Acropolis, except for the thyme and stones, and the sea-front at Eleusis, and a few acres round the Isthmus for the games, in case I want to see them there, and the plain of Sicyon. In short every thickly-shaded, well-watered, or fruitful spot in Greece will soon belong to Adimantus. Let us have gold plate to eat from, and goblets—not light-weight pieces like those of Echecrates, but two talents each in weight.

LYCINUS

Then how will the cup-bearer serve a full goblet as heavy as that? And how will you take it from him without an effort? It won't be a cup he offers, but a weight as heavy as Sisyphus's rock![2]

ADIMANTUS

Man, don't pick my wish to pieces. I'll make my tables of solid gold too and my couches of gold and, if you don't keep quiet, my servants as well.

[1] *Works and Days*, 405.

[2] Sisyphus was condemned to roll a rock up to the top of a hill, from where it eternally rolls back again.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

῞Ορα μόνον μὴ ὥσπερ τῷ Μίδᾳ καὶ ὁ ἄρτος σοι καὶ τὸ ποτὸν χρυσὸς γένηται καὶ πλουτῶν ἄθλιος ἀπόλῃ λιμῷ διαφθαρεὶς πολυτελεῖ.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

22 Τὰ σὰ ῥυθμιεῖς πιθανώτερον, ὦ Λυκῖνε, μετ' ὀλίγον, ἐπειδὰν αὐτὸς αἰτῇς. ἐσθὴς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἁλουργὶς καὶ ὁ βίος οἷος ἁβρότατος, ὕπνος ἐφ' ὅσον ἥδιστος, φίλων πρόσοδοι καὶ δεήσεις καὶ τὸ ἅπαντας ὑποπτήσσειν καὶ προσκυνεῖν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἕωθεν πρὸς ταῖς θύραις ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιπατήσουσιν, ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ Κλεαίνετος καὶ Δημόκριτος οἱ πάνυ, καὶ προσελθοῦσιν γε αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων εἰσδεχθῆναι ἀξιοῦσι θυρωροὶ ἑπτὰ ἐφεστῶτες, εὐμεγέθεις βάρβαροι, προσαραξάτωσαν ἐς τὸ μέτωπον εὐθὺ τὴν θύραν, οἷα νῦν αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσιν. ἐγὼ δέ, ὁπόταν δόξῃ, προκύψας ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδ' ἐπιβλέψομαι [1] ἐνίους, εἰ δέ τις πένης, οἷος ἦν ἐγὼ πρὸ τοῦ θησαυροῦ, φιλοφρονήσομαι τοῦτον καὶ λουσάμενον ἥκειν κελεύσω τὴν ὥραν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον. οἱ δὲ ἀποπνιγήσονται οἱ πλούσιοι ὁρῶντες ὀχήματα, ἵππους καὶ παῖδας ὡραίους ὅσον δισχιλίους, ἐξ ἁπάσης ἡλικίας ὅ τι
23 περ τὸ ἀνθηρότατον. εἶτα δεῖπνα ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ—εὐτελὴς γὰρ ὁ ἄργυρος καὶ οὐ κατ' ἐμέ—, τάριχος μὲν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, οἶνος δὲ ἐξ Ἰταλίας, ἔλαιον δὲ ἐξ Ἰβηρίας καὶ τοῦτο, μέλι δὲ ἡμέτερον τὸ ἄπυρον, καὶ ὄψα πανταχόθεν καὶ σύες καὶ λαγώς, καὶ ὅσα πτηνά, ὄρνις ἐκ Φάσιδος καὶ ταὼς ἐξ Ἰνδίας καὶ ἀλεκτρυὼν ὁ Νομαδικός· οἱ δὲ σκευάζοντες ἕκαστα σοφισταί τινες περὶ πέμματα καὶ χυμοὺς ἔχοντες.

LYCINUS

Take care you don't become a Midas and have your bread and drink turned to gold, and wretched in your riches perish, destroyed by a famine of superabundance.

ADIMANTUS

You'll arrange your affairs more convincingly, Lycinus, when you make your requests in a moment. To go on, my dress will be of purple and my life the height of luxury, my sleep the sweetest possible. Friends will come and ask for favours and they'll all bow down and grovel. Some of them will be walking up and down by my doors from dawn, among them Cleaenetus and Democritus, those great men, and, when they come and demand to be let in first, seven porters will stand there, tall barbarians, who will slam the door right in their faces, as they now do themselves. When I think fit I shall look out, like the rising sun. Some of them I shall not even look at, but if there is a poor man there, as I was before my treasure, I shall show him favour and bid him bathe and come back to dinner at the right time. But the others, the rich, will choke with envy when they see my carriages and horses and pretty slave-boys, two thousand of them, the flower of every age. Then dinners on gold—silver is cheap and unworthy of me—a pickled fish from Spain, wine from Italy, oil from Spain, as well, our own fresh Attic honey, meat from all parts—boar, and hare, and a variety of game-birds: a pheasant from Phasis, a peacock from India, and a guinea cock: and my several cooks will be experts in sweetmeats and sauces. If I demand a cup or a bowl

[1] ἐπιβλέψομαι Pflugk: ἐπιβλέψοιμι MSS.

εἰ δέ τινι προπίοιμι σκύφον ἢ φιάλην αἰτήσας, ὁ
24 ἐκπιὼν ἀποφερέτω καὶ τὸ ἔκπωμα. οἱ δὲ νῦν
πλούσιοι πρὸς ἐμὲ Ἶροι δηλαδὴ ἅπαντες, καὶ
οὐκέτι τὸ ἀργυροῦν πινάκιον ἢ τὸν σκύφον ἐπιδείξεται
Διόνικος ἐν τῇ πομπῇ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπειδὰν
ὁρᾷ τοὺς οἰκέτας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀργύρῳ [1] τοσούτῳ
χρωμένους. τῇ πόλει δὲ ταῦτα ἐξαίρετα παρ'
ἐμοῦ ὑπῆρξεν ἄν, αἱ μὲν διανομαὶ κατὰ μῆνα
ἕκαστον δραχμαὶ τῷ μὲν ἀστῷ ἑκατόν, τῷ δὲ
μετοίκῳ ἥμισυ τούτων, δημοσίᾳ δὲ ὅσα [2] ἐς κάλλος
θέατρα καὶ βαλανεῖα, καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἄχρι πρὸς
τὸ Δίπυλον ἥκειν κἀνταῦθά που λιμένα εἶναι
ἐπαχθέντος ὀρύγματι μεγάλῳ τοῦ ὕδατος, ὡς τὸ
πλοῖόν μου πλησίον ὁρμεῖν καταφανὲς ὂν ἐκ τοῦ
25 Κεραμεικοῦ. τοῖς φίλοις δὲ ὑμῖν, Σαμίππῳ μὲν
εἴκοσι μεδίμνους ἐπισήμου χρυσίου παραμετρῆσαι
τὸν οἰκονόμον ἐκέλευσα ἄν, Τιμολάῳ δὲ πέντε
χοίνικας, Λυκίνῳ δὲ χοίνικα, ἀπομεμαγμένην καὶ
ταύτην, ὅτι λάλος ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπισκώπτει μου τὴν
εὐχήν. τοῦτον ἐβουλόμην βιῶναι τὸν βίον πλουτῶν
ἐς ὑπερβολὴν καὶ τρυφῶν καὶ πάσαις ἡδοναῖς
ἀφθόνως χρώμενος. εἴρηκα, καί μοι ὁ Ἑρμῆς
τελεσιουργήσειεν αὐτά.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

26 Οἶσθα οὖν, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, ὡς πάνυ σοι ἀπὸ
λεπτῆς κρόκης ὁ πᾶς οὑτοσὶ πλοῦτος ἀπήρτηται,
καὶ ἢν ἐκείνη ἀπορραγῇ, πάντα οἴχεται καὶ
ἄνθρακές σοι ὁ θησαυρὸς ἔσται;

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Πῶς λέγεις, ὦ Λυκῖνε;

and pledge a guest, let him drink and take the cup away with him. The rich men of today are clearly all Iruses [1] compared to me. Dionicus will never again show his little silver platter or cup in the procession, especially when he sees that my servants use so much silver. For the city this would be my allocation: by way of doles, a hundred drachmas to every citizen per month, half of this to a resident alien; and for the general public theatres and baths to beautify the city; the sea brought up to the Dipylon and a harbour in that region with water brought up by a deep canal, so that my ship may anchor near by in full view of the Ceramicus. For you, my friends, I'd have told the steward to make an allotment of minted gold: twenty bushels for Samippus, five quarts for Timolaus, and one quart for Lycinus levelled off with a strickle at that, because he's a babbler and makes fun of my prayer. This is the life I wish to live, extravagant in wealth and luxury, enjoying every pleasure in fullest measure. I have spoken, and may Hermes bring it to fulfilment!

LYCINUS

Do you know, Adimantus, by what exceedingly thin thread all this wealth is hanging? If it snaps, then all is gone and your treasure will be ashes.[2]

ADIMANTUS

What do you mean, Lycinus?

[1] Irus, the beggar in the Odyssey.
[2] Proverbial.

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[1] MSS: χρυσῷ Warmington (v. ch. 23, init.).
[2] δημοσίᾳ δὲ ὅσα Fritzsche: δημόσια δὲ ἐς κάλλος (om. ὅσα) MSS.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ὅτι, ὦ ἄριστε, ἄδηλον ὁπόσον χρόνον βιώσει[1] πλουτῶν. τίς γὰρ οἶδεν εἰ ἔτι παρακειμένης σοι τῆς χρυσῆς τραπέζης, πρὶν ἐπιβαλεῖν τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἀπογεύσασθαι τοῦ ταὼ ἢ τοῦ Νομάδος ἀλεκτρυόνος, ἀποφυσήσας τὸ ψυχίδιον ἄπει γυψὶ καὶ κόραξι πάντα ἐκεῖνα καταλιπών; ἢ ἐθέλεις καταριθμήσομαί σοι τοὺς μὲν αὐτίκα πρὶν ἀπολαῦσαι τοῦ πλούτου ἀποθανόντας, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἀποστερηθέντας ὧν εἶχον ὑπό τινος βασκάνου πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα δαίμονος; ἀκούεις γάρ που τὸν Κροῖσον καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτην πολύ σου πλουσιωτέρους γενομένους ἐκπεσόντας ἐν βραχεῖ τῶν ἀγαθῶν
27 ἁπάντων. ἵνα δέ σοι καὶ τούτους ἀφῶ, τό γε[2] ὑγιαίνειν ἐχέγγυον οἴει σοι γενήσεσθαι καὶ βέβαιον; ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷς πολλοὺς τῶν πλουσίων κακοδαιμόνως διάγοντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλγηδόνων, τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ βαδίζειν δυναμένους, ἐνίους δὲ τυφλοὺς ἢ τῶν ἐντοσθιδίων τι ἀλγοῦντας; ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἕλοιο πλουτῶν δὶς τοσοῦτον πλοῦτον ὅμοια πάσχειν Φανομάχῳ τῷ πλουσίῳ καὶ θηλύνεσθαι ὡς ἐκεῖνος εὖ οἶδα, κἂν μὴ εἴπῃς. ἐῶ λέγειν ὅσας ἐπιβουλὰς μετὰ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ[3] λῃστὰς καὶ φθόνον καὶ μῖσος παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν. ὁρᾷς οἵων σοι πραγμάτων αἴτιος ὁ θησαυρὸς γίγνεται;

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Ἀεὶ σύ μοι, ὦ Λυκῖνε, ὑπεναντίος· ὥστε οὐδὲ[4] τὴν χοίνικα ἔτι λήψῃ ἐς τέλος μου τῆς εὐχῆς ἐπηρεάζων.

[1] βιώσει Dindorf: βιώσεις MSS.

LYCINUS

That, my fine friend, you don't know how long you will live with your wealth. Who knows that when your golden table is beside you, before you can put out your hand and sample the peacock or your guinea cock, you will not breathe out your little bit of soul and be gone, leaving all that for vultures and ravens? Would you like me to run through for you those who died at once before they had a chance to enjoy their wealth, or some who even though they lived on were robbed of what they had by some spirit malignant in such matters? You have heard, I suppose, of Croesus and Polycrates who became much richer than you and lost all their good things in a moment. But, to let them go, do you think that you will have sure and certain good health? Don't you see that many rich men live unhappy lives through some affliction—some unable even to walk, some blind, some with internal trouble? You would not accept twice the wealth if the effeminacy of the wealthy Phanomachus went with it, I'm sure, even if you deny it. I say nothing of the plots and robberies and envy and hatred by the mob that go with riches. Do you see how much trouble your treasure causes?

ADIMANTUS

You're always against me, Lycinus. Very well, you won't get even a quart, as you've abused my wish to the end.

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[2] τό γε Guyet : τότε MSS.
[3] καὶ edd. : ἢ MSS.
[4] οὐδὲ Fritzsche : οὔτε (or οὐ) MSS.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Τοῦτο μὲν ἤδη κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν πλουσίων ἀναδύῃ καὶ ἀνακαλεῖς τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. ἀλλὰ σὺ ἤδη ὁ Σάμιππος εὔχου.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

28 Ἐγὼ δὲ—ἠπειρώτης γάρ εἰμι, Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Μαντινείας, ὡς ἴστε—ναῦν μὲν οὐκ αἰτήσω μοι [1] γενέσθαι, ἥν γε τοῖς πολίταις ἐπιδείξασθαι ἀδύνατον, οὐδὲ μικρολογήσομαι πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς θησαυρὸν αἰτῶν καὶ μεμετρημένον χρυσίον. ἀλλὰ δύνανται γὰρ πάντα οἱ θεοί, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα εἶναι δοκοῦντα, καὶ ὁ νόμος τῆς εὐχῆς ὃν Τιμόλαος ἔθηκε φήσας μηδὲν ὀκνεῖν αἰτεῖν, ὡς ἐκείνων πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀνανευόντων. αἰτῶ δὴ βασιλεὺς γενέσθαι οὐχ οἷος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου ἢ Πτολεμαῖος ἢ Μιθριδάτης ἢ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐκδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ πατρὸς ἦρξεν, ἀλλά μοι τὸ πρῶτον ἀπὸ λῃστείας ἀρξαμένῳ ἑταῖροι καὶ συνωμόται ὅσον τριάκοντα, πιστοὶ μάλα καὶ πρόθυμοι, γενέσθωσαν, εἶτα κατ᾽ ὀλίγον τριακόσιοι προσιόντες ἡμῖν ἄλλος ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ, εἶτα χίλιοι καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ μύριοι, καὶ τὸ πᾶν εἰς πέντε μυριάδας ὁπλιτικόν, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους.
29 ἐγὼ δὲ χειροτονητὸς ὑφ᾽ ἁπάντων προκριθεὶς ἄρχων, ἄριστος εἶναι δόξας ἀνθρώπων ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ πράγμασι χρῆσθαι. ὡς τοῦτό γε αὐτὸ ἡδύ, μείζω [2] εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἅτε ἀρετῇ προχειρισθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἄρχειν, οὐ κληρονόμον γενόμενον ἄλλου πονήσαντος ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν· ἐπεὶ τῷ Ἀδειμάντου θησαυρῷ παρα-

[1] *αἰτήσω μοι* Courier : *αἰτήσομαι* MSS.

LYCINUS

There you are. Just like most rich men, backing out and calling off your promises. Now give us your wish, Samippus.

SAMIPPUS

I'm from the mainland, an Arcadian from Mantinea as you know, so I shan't ask for a ship. I could not show it off to my fellow-citizens, and I shan't be niggardly with the gods and ask for treasure and measured gold. The gods can do anything, even what seems to be quite stupendous, and the rule of wish which Timolaus laid down was not to hesitate to ask for anything, on the assumption that they will not say no. Well, I ask to be made a king, but not a king like Alexander, Philip's son, or Ptolemy or Mithridates or any of those who inherited their kingdom from a father. No, let me begin as a brigand with about thirty sworn companions, men absolutely trustworthy and full of spirit. Then let them grow by degrees to three hundred, a thousand, and soon ten thousand, until the total is some fifty thousand heavy infantry and about five thousand horse. I shall be elected chief by all, because they think me the most able leader and administrator. This very fact is sweet—to be greater than other kings, because I've been elected commander by the army on merit, and not inherited the kingdom after someone else has done the work—that would be like Adimantus's

[2] ἡδύ, μείζω Sommerbrodt : ἤδη μεῖζον MSS.

πλήσιον τὸ τοιοῦτο, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐχ ὅμοιον ἡδύ, ὥσπερ ὅταν ἴδῃ τις αὐτὸς δι' αὑτοῦ [1] κτησάμενος τὴν δυναστείαν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Παπαῖ, ὦ Σάμιππε, οὐδὲν μικρόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἁπάντων σύ γε ᾔτησας, ἄρχειν ἀσπίδος τοσαύτης ἄριστος δὴ προκριθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πεντακισμυρίων. τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν ἡ Μαντίνεια θαυμαστὸν βασιλέα καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐλελήθει ἀνατρέφουσα. πλὴν ἀλλὰ βασίλευε καὶ ἡγοῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ διακόσμει τό τε ἱππικὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀνέρας τοὺς ἀσπιδιώτας· ἐθέλω γὰρ εἰδέναι οἷ βαδιεῖσθε τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ἢ ἐπὶ τίνας ἀθλίους πρώτους ἀφίξεσθε.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

30 Ἄκουε, ὦ Λυκῖνε, μᾶλλον δέ, εἴ σοι φίλον, ἀκολούθει μεθ' ἡμῶν. ἵππαρχον γάρ σε τῶν πεντακισχιλίων ἀποφανῶ.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν τιμῆς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, χάριν οἶδά σοι καὶ ὑποκύψας ἐς τὸ Περσικὸν προσκυνῶ σε περιαγαγὼν εἰς τοὐπίσω τὼ χεῖρε τιμῶν τὴν τιάραν ὀρθὴν οὖσαν καὶ τὸ διάδημα. σὺ δὲ τῶν ἐρρωμένων τούτων τινὰ ποίησον ἵππαρχον. ἐγὼ γάρ σοι δεινῶς ἄφιππός εἰμι καὶ οὐδὲ ὅλως ἐπέβην ἵππου ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ. δέδια τοίνυν μὴ τοῦ σαλπιγκτοῦ ἐποτρύνοντος καταπεσὼν ἔγωγε συμπατηθῶ ἐν τῇ τύρβῃ ὑπὸ τοσαύταις ὁπλαῖς, ἢ καὶ θυμοειδὴς ὢν ὁ ἵππος ἐξενέγκῃ με τὸν χαλινὸν ἐνδακὼν ἐς μέσους τοὺς πολεμίους, ἢ

treasure and not so gratifying as when you see that you have won power by your own effort.

LYCINUS

Goodness, Samippus! This is no small demand. You've asked for the essence of every good there is, to have fifty thousand men choose you as most able to command a force like that. What a wonderful king and general Mantinea had bred and didn't know it! Never mind! Be king and lead your soldiers and muster your cavalry and your heroic shield-bearers. I want to know where you are going with an army of that size from Arcadia and who will be your first unhappy victims.

SAMIPPUS

Listen, Lycinus, or better still come with us if you like. I'll make you a cavalry officer in the fifty thousand.

LYCINUS

Well, I'm grateful for the honour, your majesty. I bow my head in Persian style and do obeisance sweeping my hands behind me, honouring your upright turban and your diadem. But make one of these mighty men your cavalry officer. I'm dreadfully bad at horses and never sat on a horse in my life before. I'm afraid that when the trumpet blows for action I'll fall off and be trampled on by all those hooves in the throng; or the horse may be spirited and take the bit between its teeth and carry me right

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[1] *αὑτοῦ* Reitz : *αὐτοῦ* MSS.

δεήσει καταδεθῆναί με πρὸς τὸ ἐφίππιον, εἰ μέλλω μενεῖν [1] τε ἄνω καὶ ἕξεσθαι τοῦ χαλινοῦ.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

31 Ἐγώ σοι, ὦ Σάμιππε, ἡγήσομαι τῶν ἱππέων, Λυκῖνος δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἐχέτω. δίκαιος δ' ἂν εἴην τυχεῖν παρὰ σοῦ τῶν μεγίστων τοσούτοις σε μεδίμνοις δωρησάμενος ἐπισήμου χρυσίου.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐρώμεθα, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, τοὺς ἱππέας, εἰ δέξονταί ἄρχοντα σε σφῶν γενέσθαι. ὅτῳ δοκεῖ, ὦ ἱππεῖς, Ἀδείμαντον ἱππαρχεῖν, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

Πάντες, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ὦ Σάμιππε, ἐχειροτόνησαν.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ἄρχε τῆς ἵππου, Λυκῖνος δὲ ἐχέτω τὸ δεξιόν. οὑτοσὶ δὲ Τιμόλαος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τετάξεται. ἐγὼ δὲ κατὰ μέσον, ὡς νόμος βασιλεῦσι
32 τῶν Περσῶν, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοὶ συμπαρῶσι.[2] προΐωμεν δὲ ἤδη τὴν ἐπὶ Κορίνθου διὰ τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἐπευξάμενοι τῷ βασιλείῳ Διί· κἀπειδὰν τὰν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πάντα ἤδη χειρωσώμεθα—οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὁ ἐναντιωθησόμενος ἡμῖν τὰ ὅπλα τοσούτοις οὖσιν, ἀλλ' ἀκονιτὶ κρατοῦμεν—ἐπιβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τοὺς ἵππους εἰς τὰς ἱππαγωγοὺς ἐμβιβάσαντες—παρεσκεύασται δ' ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς καὶ σῖτος ἱκανὸς καὶ τὰ πλοῖα διαρκῆ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα—διαβάλωμεν [3] τὸν Αἰγαῖον ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν, εἶτα

[1] μενεῖν Lehmann: μένειν MSS.

among the enemy; or I shall have to be tied to the saddle if I'm going to stay up and hold the reins.

ADIMANTUS

I'll lead your cavalry, Samippus. Let Lycinus have the right wing. I deserve the best from you in return for all those bushels of minted gold I gave you.

SAMIPPUS

Let us ask the cavalry personally, Adimantus, if they will have you as commander. Gentlemen of the cavalry, those in favour of Adimantus as cavalry officer, raise your hands.

ADIMANTUS

They've voted unanimously, you see, Samippus.

SAMIPPUS

Well, you command the cavalry and let Lycinus have the right. Timolaus here shall take the left. I shall be in the centre as the law lays down for Persian kings when they are with their troops. Let us now advance to Corinth over the hills after a prayer to Royal Zeus; and when we have conquered all of Greece—we shall have no opposition to our enormous numbers and have an easy victory—we shall embark on triremes, putting the cavalry on horse-transports —enough corn and sufficient boats and everything else is ready at Cenchreae—let us cross the Aegean to

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[2] *αὐτοὶ συμπαρῶσι* Ω: *αὐτοὶ συμπαρ* (sic) Γ: *αὐτοὶ συμπαρεδρεύειν αὐτοῖς βούλονταί τινας* N.

[3] *διαβάλωμεν*: Dindorf and Bekker: *διαλάβωμεν* MSS.

ἐκεῖ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι θύσαντες καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀτειχίστους λαβόντες ῥᾳδίως ἄρχοντας ἀπολιπόντες προχωρῶμεν ἐπὶ Συρίας διὰ Καρίας, εἶτα Λυκίας καὶ Παμφυλίας καὶ Πισιδῶν καὶ τῆς παραλίου καὶ ὀρεινῆς Κιλικίας, ἄχρι [1] ἂν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀφικώμεθα.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

33 Ἐμέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἰ δοκεῖ, σατράπην τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατάλιπε. δειλὸς γάρ εἰμι καὶ τῶν οἴκοι πολὺ ἀπελθεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἡδέως ὑπομείναιμι. σὺ δὲ ἔοικας ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίους καὶ Παρθυαίους ἐλάσειν μάχιμα φῦλα καὶ τὴν τοξικὴν εὔστοχα. ὥστε ἄλλῳ παραδοὺς τὸ δεξιὸν ἐμὲ Ἀντίπατρόν τινα ἔασον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, μή με καὶ διαπείρῃ τις οἰστῷ ἄθλιον βαλὼν ἐς τὰ γυμνὰ περὶ Σοῦσα ἢ Βάκτρα ἡγούμενόν σοι τῆς φάλαγγος.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Ἀποδιδράσκεις, ὦ Λυκῖνε, τὸν κατάλογον δειλὸς ὤν. ὁ δὲ νόμος ἀποτετμῆσθαι τὴν κεφαλήν, εἴ τις λιπὼν φαίνοιτο τὴν τάξιν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἤδη ἐσμὲν καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ἔζευκται καὶ κατόπιν ὁπόσα διεληλύθαμεν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχει καὶ πάντα ὕπαρχοι κατέχουσιν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἑκάστῳ ἔθνει ἐπεισαχθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπίασι τὴν Φοινίκην ἡμῖν ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην εἶτα καὶ τὴν
34 Αἴγυπτον προσαξόμενοι, σὺ πρῶτος, ὦ Λυκῖνε, διάβαινε τὸ δεξιὸν ἄγων, εἶτα ἐγὼ καὶ μετ' ἐμὲ ὁ Τιμόλαος· ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὸ ἱππικὸν ἄγε σύ, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε. καὶ διὰ μὲν τῆς Μεσοποταμίας οὐδεὶς ἀπήντηκεν ἡμῖν πολέμιος, ἀλλὰ ἑκόντες αὑτούς τε καὶ τὰς ἀκροπόλεις ἄνθρωποι [2] ἐνεχείρισαν, καὶ

Ionia. There let us sacrifice to Artemis and capture the cities easily—they are unwalled—leave governors behind, and press on to Syria through Caria first, then Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Cilicia (both coast and hill areas), until we reach the Euphrates.

LYCINUS

Please, your Majesty, leave me behind as satrap of Greece. I'm a coward and I couldn't bear to go far away from things at home. You seem to be pushing on to the Armenians and Parthians, warlike nations, good shots with the bow. So give the right wing to someone else and leave me in Greece like an Antipater.[1] I don't want anyone to stick me with an arrow hitting some exposed part of my poor body when I'm leading your phalanx near Susa or Bactra.

SAMIPPUS

You're deserting the levy, Lycinus, you coward. It's the law to cut the head off anyone seen leaving the ranks. But now that we are at the Euphrates, the river has been bridged and all is safe in the rear and I've put prefects over each tribe to keep control of everything. Others meanwhile will go off for us to win over Phoenicia and Palestine and afterwards Egypt too. You cross first, Lycinus, with the right wing, then I, and Timolaus after me; last of all, Adimantus, bring the cavalry. Throughout Mesopotamia not an enemy has met us. They surrendered themselves and their strongholds quite voluntarily.

[1] Alexander left him in Macedon.

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[1] ἄχρι Jacobitz : ἄχρις MSS.
[2] ἄνθρωποι Fritzsche : ἄνθρωποι MSS.

ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα ἐλθόντες ἀπροσδόκητοι παρήλθομεν εἰς τὸ εἴσω τῶν τειχῶν καὶ ἔχομεν τὴν πόλιν. ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ περὶ Κτησιφῶντα διατρίβων ἤκουσε τὴν ἔφοδον, εἶτα εἰς Σελεύκειαν παρελθὼν παρασκευάζεται ἱππέας τε ὅτι πλείστους μεταπεμπόμενος καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας. ἀπαγγέλλουσι δ' οὖν οἱ σκοποὶ ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν ἤδη μυριάδας τοῦ μαχίμου συνειλέχθαι καὶ τούτων εἴκοσιν ἱπποτοξότας, καίτοι οὔπω ὁ Ἀρμένιος πάρεστιν οὔτε οἱ κατὰ τὴν Κασπίαν θάλατταν οἰκοῦντες οὔτε οἱ ἀπὸ Βάκτρων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πλησίον καὶ προαστείων τῆς ἀρχῆς· οὕτω ῥᾳδίως τοσαύτας μυριάδας κατέλεξε.[1] καιρὸς οὖν ἤδη σκοπεῖν ἡμᾶς ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν.

ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ

35 Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μέν φημι δεῖν ὑμᾶς τὸ πεζὸν ἀπιέναι τὴν ἐπὶ Κτησιφῶντος, ἡμᾶς δὲ τὸ ἱππικὸν αὐτοῦ μένειν τὴν Βαβυλῶνα διαφυλάξοντας.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Ἀποδειλιᾷς καὶ σύ, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, πλησίον τοῦ κινδύνου γενόμενος; σοὶ δὲ τί δοκεῖ, ὦ Τιμόλαε;

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

Ἁπάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, μηδὲ περιμένειν ἔστ' ἂν ἄμεινον παρασκευάσωνται πανταχόθεν τῶν συμμάχων προσγενομένων, ἀλλ' ἕως ἔτι καθ' ὁδόν εἰσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐπιχειρῶμεν αὐτοῖς.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Εὖ λέγεις. σὺ δὲ τί, ὦ Λυκῖνε, δοκιμάζεις;

[1] κατέλεξε Pellet: κατέαξε MSS.

We came against Babylon unexpectedly and entered the walls and held the city. The King was busy at Ctesiphon when he heard of our approach. Then he came to Seleucia, and is summoning and making ready all the cavalry he can and bowmen and slingers. The scouts report about a million already mustered under arms, including two hundred thousand mounted archers. Yet the Armenians are not yet here nor those from the Caspian Sea nor the men from Bactra, only those from near at hand and the suburbs of the empire. See how easily he mustered all those thousands. Now it's time for us to consider what to do next.

ADIMANTUS

I say you infantry must be off on the road to Ctesiphon while we cavalry stay here to guard Babylon.

SAMIPPUS

Are you playing the coward too, Adimantus, now you're close to danger? What do you think, Timolaus?

TIMOLAUS

March against the enemy with your entire army and don't wait until the arrival of allies from all around makes them better prepared. No, let us attack the enemy while they are still on the march.

SAMIPPUS

Good! What's your opinion, Lycinus?

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἐγώ σοι φράσω. ἐπειδὴ κεκμήκαμεν συντόνως ὁδεύοντες, ὁπότε κατῄειμεν ἕωθεν ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ νῦν ἤδη τριάκοντά που σταδίους προκεχωρήκαμεν καὶ ὁ ἥλιος πολύς, κατὰ μεσημβρίαν γὰρ ἤδη μάλιστα, ἐνταῦθά που ἐπὶ τὰς ἐλαίας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνατετραμμένης [1] στήλης καθίσαντας ἀναπαύσασθαι, εἶτα οὕτως ἀναστάντας ἀνύειν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Ἔτι γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν, ὦ μακάριε, εἶναι δοκεῖς, ὃς ἀμφὶ Βαβυλῶνα ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐν τοσούτοις στρατιώταις κάθησαι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου διασκοπούμενος;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Εὖ γε [2] ὑπέμνησας. ἐγὼ δὲ νήφειν ᾤμην καὶ ὕπαρ ἀποφανεῖσθαι [3] τὴν γνώμην.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

36 Πρόσιμεν δή, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ. καὶ ὅπως ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἔσεσθε μηδὲ προδώσετε τὸ πάτριον φρόνημα. ἤδη γάρ που καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιλαμβάνουσιν. ὥστε τὸ μὲν σύνθημα ἔστω Ἐνυάλιος. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐπειδὰν σημάνῃ ὁ σαλπιγκτής, ἀλαλάξαντες καὶ τὰ δόρατα κρούσαντες πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐπείγεσθε συμμῖξαι [4] τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ ἐντὸς γενέσθαι τῶν τοξευμάτων, ὡς μηδὲ πληγὰς λαμβάνωμεν ἀκροβολίζεσθαι αὐτοῖς διδόντες. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐς χεῖρας ἤδη συνεληλύθαμεν, τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον καὶ ὁ Τιμόλαος ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς Μήδους ὄντας, τὸ δὲ κατ' ἐμὲ ἰσόπαλον

[1] ἀνατετραμμένης Gesner: ἀναγεγραμμένης MSS.

LYCINUS

I will tell you. We are tired with our hard travelling to Piraeus this morning, and now we have already done thirty stades I suppose, and the sun is hot—it's about midday. Let's go over to the olives and sit on that overturned stone there and have a breather. Then when we're recovered we complete the rest of the way to the city.

SAMIPPUS

Bless you! Do you think you are still at Athens? You're stationed on the plain near Babylon outside the walls, one of a mighty army, in a council of war.

LYCINUS

Thanks for the reminder. I thought I was sober and that the idea I was expressing was wideawake.

SAMIPPUS

We'll go on then, if you don't mind. Be good soldiers in danger and don't betray our native spirit! The enemy are coming on now, I fancy. So let Enyalius[1] be our watchword! When the trumpeter gives the signal, raise the battle-cry, crash your spears against your shields, charge and get to grips with 'em! Get under their arrows! Don't let them shoot us down at long range! Now we're at close quarters and Timolaus and the left have routed those against them—Medes they are. There's no

[1] The God of War.

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[2] εὖ γε add. Dindorf.
[3] So Bekker: καὶ οὐ παρὰ τὸ φανεῖσθαι MSS.
[4] συμμῖξαι Jacobitz: συμμίξαι MSS.

ἔτι, Πέρσαι γάρ εἰσι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς. ἡ δὲ ἵππος ἅπασα τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν ἡμῶν ἐλαύνουσιν, ὥστε, ὦ Λυκῖνε, αὐτός τε ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίγνου καὶ τοῖς μετὰ σαυτοῦ παρακελεύου δέχεσθαι τὴν ἐπέλασιν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

37 Ὦ τῆς τύχης. ἐπ' ἐμὲ γὰρ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἅπαντες καὶ μόνος ἐπιτήδειος αὐτοῖς ἔδοξα ἐπελαύνεσθαι. καί μοι δοκῶ, ἢν βιάζωνται, αὐτομολήσειν προσδραμὼν ἐς τὴν παλαίστραν ἔτι πολεμοῦντας ὑμᾶς καταλιπών.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Μηδαμῶς. κρατεῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ σὺ ἤδη τὸ μέρος. ἐγὼ δέ, ὡς ὁρᾷς, καὶ μονομαχήσω πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· προκαλεῖται γάρ με καὶ ἀναδῦναι πάντως αἰσχρόν.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Νὴ Δία καὶ τετρώσῃ αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸς αὐτοῦ. βασιλικὸν γὰρ καὶ τὸ τρωθῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς μαχόμενον.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Εὖ λέγεις. ἐπιπόλαιον μέντοι [1] τὸ τραῦμα καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὰ φανερὰ τοῦ σώματος, ὡς μηδὲ τὴν οὐλὴν ὕστερον ἄμορφον γενέσθαι. πλὴν ἀλλὰ ὁρᾷς ὅπως ἐπελάσας μιᾷ πληγῇ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν ἵππον διέπειρα τὴν λόγχην ἀφείς, εἶτα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμὼν καὶ ἀφελὼν τὸ διάδημα βασιλεὺς ἤδη γέγονα προσκυνούμενος ὑφ' ἁπάντων;
38 οἱ βάρβαροι προσκυνείτωσαν. ὑμῶν [2] κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων νόμον ἄρξω εἷς στρατηγὸς ὀνομαζόμενος.

[1] *μέντοι* Bekker : *μέν σοι* (or *μοι*) MSS.

decision yet in my sector—they're Persians here and the king's with them. All the barbarian horse are charging our right. So show your quality, Lycinus, and encourage your men to receive the charge!

LYCINUS

Oh, what luck! All the cavalry are charging against me, and they've thought me alone worth attacking. Well, if they press me hard, I fancy I shall desert and run away to the gymnasium and leave you behind still fighting your war.

SAMIPPUS

Don't do that! You are already mastering them on your side. Now, as you see, I am going to fight the king in single combat. He is challenging me, and to refuse would be absolutely disgraceful.

LYCINUS

Yes, and you'll be wounded by him in a moment. It's a royal privilege to be wounded fighting for your empire.

SAMIPPUS

You are right. Still, it's only a slight wound and not in an exposed place, so the scar won't disfigure me afterwards. But did you see how I charged him and ran him through and his horse too with one throw of my spear, and then cut off his head and stripped him of his diadem and now I am the Great King with everyone doing obeisance? Let the barbarians do obeisance! You I'll rule in Greek manner under the

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[2] ὑμῶν Solanus : ἡμῖν MSS.

ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄρα ἐννοεῖτε ὅσας μὲν πόλεις ἐπωνύμους ἐπ' ἐμαυτοῦ οἰκιῶ, ὅσας δὲ καὶ καθαιρήσω ἑλὼν κατὰ κράτος, αἳ ἂν ὑβρίσωσί τι ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν. ἁπάντων δὲ μάλιστα Κυδίαν τὸν πλούσιον μετελεύσομαι, ὃς ὅμορος[1] ὤν μοι ἐξέωσε τοῦ ἀγροῦ ἐπιβαίνων κατ' ὀλίγον ἐς τὸ εἴσω τῶν ὅρων.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

39 Πέπαυσο ἤδη, ὦ Σάμιππε. καιρὸς γὰρ σὲ ἤδη μὲν νενικηκότα τηλικαύτην μάχην ἐν Βαβυλῶνι εὐωχεῖσθαι τὰ ἐπινίκια—ἐκστάδιος γὰρ οἶμαί σοι ἡ ἀρχή—Τιμόλαον δὲ ἐν τῷ μέρει εὔχεσθαι ὅπερ ἂν ἐθέλῃ.

ΣΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ

Τί δ' οὖν, ὦ Λυκῖνε; οἷά σοι ᾐτῆσθαι δοκῶ;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Παρὰ πολύ,[2] ὦ θαυμασιώτατε βασιλέων, ἐπιπονώτερα καὶ βιαιότερα τῶν Ἀδειμάντου, παρ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐτρύφα διτάλαντα χρύσεα ἐκπώματα προπίνων[3] τοῖς συμπόταις, σὺ δὲ καὶ ἐτιτρώσκου μονομαχῶν καὶ ἐδεδίεις καὶ ἐφρόντιζες νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν· οὐ μόνον γάρ σοι τὰ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων φοβερὰ ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιβουλαὶ μυρίαι καὶ φθόνος παρὰ τῶν συνόντων καὶ μῖσος καὶ κολακεία, φίλος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀληθής, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ δέος ἅπαντες ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα εὖνοι δοκοῦντες εἶναι. ἀπόλαυσις μέν γε οὐδὲ ὄναρ τῶν ἡδέων, ἀλλὰ δόξα μόνη καὶ πορφυρὶς χρυσῷ ποικίλη καὶ ταινία λευκὴ περὶ τῷ μετώπῳ καὶ δορυφόροι προϊόντες, τὰ δ' ἄλλα κάματος ἀφόρητος καὶ ἀηδία

[1] After ὅμορος MSS. have ἤδη: del. Fritzsche.
[2] So Jacobitz: παραπολύ MSS.

title of sole commander. Then think how many cities I shall found and name after myself, and how many I shall storm and destroy that have been insolent to my empire! Of all men I'll punish that rich Cydias in particular: he used to be my neighbour; he encroached on my property little by little and drove me from my land.

LYCINUS

That's enough, Samippus. Now you've won your big fight it's time for your victory-feast in Babylon—I think your empire is six stades long. It is the turn of Timolaus now to wish for whatever he wants.

SAMIPPUS

Well, but, Lycinus, what do you think of my wish?

LYCINUS

Much more laborious and violent, most glorious Majesty, than Adimantus's. He lived in luxury and bestowed on his fellow-drinkers golden cups of two talents weight each. You were wounded in single combat and were afraid and anxious night and day—you had not only your enemies to fear, but thousands of plots and envy from those around you and hatred and flattery: not one true friend did you have, but all feigned goodwill for fear or hope. You had not even a phantom enjoyment of your pleasures, only the appearance, purple embroidered with gold, a white ribbon on your brow, and bodyguards to go before you, but otherwise intolerable hardship and

[3] *προπίνων* Gesner and Cobet: *προτεινόμενος* (or *προτείνων*) MSS.

πολλή, καὶ ἢ χρηματίζειν δεῖ τοῖς παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἥκουσιν ἢ δικάζειν ἢ καταπέμπειν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐπιτάγματα, καὶ ἤτοι ἀφέστηκέ τι ἔθνος ἢ ἐπελαύνουσί τινες τῶν ἔξω τῆς ἀρχῆς. δεδιέναι οὖν δεῖ πάντα καὶ ὑφορᾶσθαι, καὶ ὅλως ὑπὸ πάντων μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ σεαυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίζεσθαι.
40 *καὶ γὰρ οὖν καὶ τόδε πῶς οὐ ταπεινόν, ὅτι καὶ νοσεῖς τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς ἰδιώταις καὶ ὁ πυρετὸς οὐ διαγιγνώσκει σε βασιλέα ὄντα οὐδ' ὁ θάνατος δέδιε τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἀλλ' ἐπιστάς, ὁπόταν αὐτῷ δοκῇ, ἄγει οἰμώζοντα οὐκ αἰδούμενος τὸ διάδημα; σὺ δὲ ὁ οὕτως ὑψηλὸς καταπεσὼν ἀνάσπαστος ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου θρόνου τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἄπει τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἰσότιμος ἐλαυνόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀγέλῃ τῶν νεκρῶν, χῶμα ὑψηλὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ στήλην μακρὰν ἢ πυραμίδα εὔγραμμον τὰς γωνίας ἀπολιπών, ἐκπρόθεσμα καὶ ἀνεπαίσθητα φιλοτιμήματα. εἰκόνες δὲ ἐκεῖναι καὶ νεῴ,[1] οὓς ἀνιστᾶσιν αἱ πόλεις θεραπεύουσαι, καὶ τὸ μέγα ὄνομα πάντα κατ' ὀλίγον ὑπορρεῖ καὶ ἄπεισιν ἀμελούμενα. ἢν δὲ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον παραμείνῃ, τίς ἔτι ἀπόλαυσις ἀναισθήτῳ αὐτῷ γενομένῳ; ὁρᾷς οἷα μὲν ἔτι ζῶν ἕξεις πράγματα δεδιὼς καὶ φροντίζων καὶ κάμνων, οἷα δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ἔσται;*

41 *Ἀλλ' ἤδη σὸν αἰτεῖν, ὦ Τιμόλαε, καὶ ὅπως ὑπερβαλῇ τούτους, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἄνδρα συνετὸν καὶ πράγμασιν χρῆσθαι εἰδότα.*

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

Σκόπει γοῦν, ὦ Λυκῖνε, εἴ τι ἐπιλήψιμον εὔξομαι καὶ ὅ τι ἂν εὐθῦναί τις δυνηθείη. χρυσὸν

much unpleasantness. Then you must do business with missions from your enemies or pass judgments or send instructions to your subjects; some tribe has revolted or some foreign state is invading. You must fear and suspect everything, and in fine everyone will count you happy except your own self. Besides, it is humiliating that sickness will come to you as to ordinary folk and fever will not set you apart as a king: Death has no fear of your bodyguard, but comes when he will and takes you moaning with no respect for your diadem. From what a height you will fall when, jerked from your royal throne, you depart by the same road as the common crowd, all equal as you are driven in the herd of the dead. Above ground you will leave behind a high mound and a lofty tombstone or a pyramid with inscribed corners, honours too late for you to see. Those statues and temples which cities erect to flatter you, and your great name, all will soon disappear unnoticed and be gone, neglected. But if all remains as long as may be, what enjoyment will now come to one who is beyond feeling? Do you see what further troubles you will have in life from fear, anxiety, and labour, and what will remain with you after you depart?

But now it's your turn to make your request, Timolaus. See that you outdo them—as we expect from an intelligent man of the world.

TIMOLAUS

Well, Lycinus, see if my wish will be open to censure or possible correction. Gold, treasures and

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[1] νεῴ Guyet: νεὼς MSS.

μὲν οὖν καὶ θησαυροὺς καὶ μεδίμνους νομίσματος
ἢ βασιλείας καὶ πολέμους καὶ δείματα ὑπὲρ τῆς
ἀρχῆς, εἰκότως [1] διέβαλες, οὐκ αἰτήσομαι. ἀβέ-
βαια γὰρ ταῦτά γε καὶ πολλὰς τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς
ἔχοντα καὶ πλέον τοῦ ἡδέος τὸ ἀνιαρὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς
42 ἦν. ἐγὼ δὲ βούλομαι τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἐντυχόντα μοι
δοῦναι δακτυλίους τινὰς τοιούτους τὴν δύναμιν,
ἕνα μὲν ὥστε ἀεὶ ἐρρῶσθαι καὶ ὑγιαίνειν τὸ
σῶμα καὶ ἄτρωτον εἶναι καὶ ἀπαθῆ, ἕτερον δὲ
ὡς μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι τὸν περιθέμενον, οἷος ἦν ὁ τοῦ
Γύγου, τὸν δέ τινα ὡς ἰσχύειν ὑπὲρ ἄνδρας
μυρίους καὶ ὅ τι ἂν ἄχθος ἅμα μυρίοι κινῆσαι
μόλις δύναιντο, τοῦτο ἐμὲ ῥᾳδίως μόνον ἀνατίθε-
σθαι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πέτεσθαι πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς
ἀρθέντα, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο εἶναί μοι δακτύλιόν τινα.
καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐς ὕπνον κατασπᾶν ὁπόσους ἂν
ἐθέλω καὶ ἅπασαν θύραν προσιόντι μοι ἀνοίγεσθαι
χαλωμένου τοῦ κλείθρου καὶ τοῦ μοχλοῦ ἀφαιρου-
μένου, ταῦτα ἀμφότερα εἷς δακτύλιος δυνάσθω.
43 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἄλλος τις ἔστω ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁ ἥδιστος,
ὡς ἐράσμιον εἶναί με περιθέμενον παισὶ τοῖς
ὡραίοις καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ δήμοις ὅλοις καὶ μηδένα
εἶναι ἀνέραστον καὶ ὅτῳ μὴ ποθεινότατος ἐγὼ καὶ
ἀνὰ στόμα, ὥστε πολλὰς γυναῖκας οὐ φερούσας
τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ ἀναρτᾶν ἑαυτὰς καὶ τὰ μειράκια
ἐπιμεμηνέναι μοι καὶ εὐδαίμονα εἶναι δοκεῖν, εἴ
τινα καὶ μόνον προσβλέψαιμι αὐτῶν, εἰ δ᾽ ὑπερ-
ορῴην, κἀκεῖνα ὑπὸ λύπης ἀπολλύσθω, καὶ ὅλως
ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὑάκινθον ἢ Ὕλαν ἢ Φάωνα τὸν Χῖον
44 εἶναί με. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἔχειν μὴ ὀλιγοχρόνιον
ὄντα μηδὲ κατὰ μέτρον ζῶντα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης
βιοτῆς, ἀλλ᾽ ἔτη χίλια νέον ἐκ νέου γιγνόμενον

bushels of coin, kingdoms, wars and fears for empire you have rightly censured—I shall not ask for them. They are insecure, full of plots and give more grief than pleasure. I want Hermes to meet me and give me a set of rings with certain powers: one is to keep the body always strong and healthy, invulnerable and free from disease, another to make the wearer invisible like the ring of Gyges,[1] a third to make me stronger than thousands of men and able easily to carry by myself a weight that thousands together could hardly move, and another to lift me flying far above the earth—let me have a ring for this as well. Then a ring to put anyone I want to sleep and open every door as I approach, releasing bolts and bars—let one ring do both. But in particular let me have one more, the most delightful of all, one that when I wear it will make the pretty boys and women and whole peoples fall in love with me—no one will fail to love me and think me desirable: I shall be on every tongue. Many women will hang themselves in despair, boys will be mad for me and think themselves blessed if I but glance at one of them, and pine away for grief if I ignore them. Just let me be better than Hyacinthus or Hylas or Phaon the Chian.[2] All these let me have and not for a short time: for I shall not live the measure of human life but for a thousand years, renewing my youth and always casting off

[1] The story is told in Plato, *Republic* II, 359d ff.
[2] Handsome young men of ancient myth.

[1] ἃ εἰκότως MSS.: ἃ del. Bekker.

διαβιῶναι ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη ἀεὶ ἀποδυόμενον τὸ γῆρας ὥσπερ οἱ ὄφεις. οὐδὲν γὰρ δεήσει με ταῦτα ἔχοντα· πάντα γὰρ ἐμὰ ἦν ἂν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐς ὅσον ἀνοίγειν τε τὰς θύρας ἐδυνάμην καὶ κοιμίζειν τοὺς φύλακας καὶ ἀθέατος εἶναι εἰσιών. εἰ δέ τι ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἢ Ὑπερβορέοις θέαμα παράδοξον ἢ κτῆμα τίμιον ἢ ὅσα ἐμφαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν ἡδέα, οὐ μεταστειλάμενος, ἀλλ᾿ αὐτὸς ἐπιπετόμενος ἀπέλαυον ἁπάντων ἐς κόρον. καὶ ἐπεὶ γρὺψ ὑπόπτερον θηρίον ἢ φοῖνιξ ὄρνεον ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἀθέατον τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἑώρων ἄν, καὶ τὰς πηγὰς δὲ τὰς Νείλου μόνος ἂν ἠπιστάμην καὶ ὅσον τῆς γῆς ἀοίκητον, καὶ εἴ τινες ἀντίποδες ἡμῖν οἰκοῦσι τὸ νότιον τῆς γῆς ἡμίτομον ἔχοντες. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀστέρων φύσιν καὶ σελήνης καὶ αὐτοῦ ἡλίου ῥᾳδίως ἔγνων ἂν ἀπαθὴς ὢν τῷ πυρί, καὶ τὸ πάντων ἥδιστον, αὐθημερὸν ἀγγεῖλαι ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, τίς ἐνίκησεν Ὀλύμπια, καὶ ἀριστήσαντα, εἰ τύχοι,[1] ἐν Συρίᾳ δειπνῆσαι ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ. εἰ δέ τις ἐχθρὸς εἴη, ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς πέτρον ἐμβαλόντα τῇ κεφαλῇ, ὡς ἐπιτετρῖφθαι τὸ κρανίον, τούς τε αὖ φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν ἐπιχέαντα κοιμωμένοις αὐτοῖς τὸ χρυσίον. καὶ μὴν εἴ τις ὑπερόπτης εἴη ἢ τύραννος πλούσιος ὑβριστής, ἀράμενος αὐτὸν ὅσον ἐπὶ σταδίους εἴκοσιν ἀφῆκα φέρεσθαι κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν. τοῖς παιδικοῖς δὲ ὁμιλεῖν ἀκωλύτως ἂν ἐξῆν[2] εἰσιόντα ἀθέατον κοιμίσαντα ἅπαντας ἄνευ ἐκείνων μόνων. οἷον δὲ κἀκεῖνο ἦν, τοὺς πολεμοῦντας ἐπισκοπεῖν ἔξω βέλους ὑπεραιωρούμενον; καὶ εἰ δόξειέ μοι, προσθέμενος ἂν τοῖς ἡττημένοις κοιμίσας τοὺς κρατοῦντας νικᾶν παρεῖχον τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἀνα-

old age about every seventeen years, as a snake sloughs its skin. While I have all this I shall want for nothing: all that others own would be mine as long as I could open doors, put watchmen to sleep, and pass in myself unseen. Whatever remarkable sight there were in India or beyond the North Wind, whatever precious possession, whatever dainty morsel or pleasant drink, I should not send for them, but fly there myself and enjoy them all to satiety. That winged beast the griffin or the Phoenix bird in India may be unseen by others, but I should see it: I alone would know the source of the Nile and how much of the earth is uninhabited and if people live head-downwards in the southern half of the world. Again I should know the nature of the stars and the moon and the sun itself without trouble, being insensitive to fire; sweetest pleasure of all, on the self-same day I should give Babylon the name of the Olympic victor, and after breakfast perhaps in Syria dine in Italy. If I had an enemy I could pay him out by dropping a stone on his head unseen and cracking his skull: my friends I could help by pouring gold on them as they slept. Then if there was a haughty person or a rich and bullying tyrant, I could pick him up and throw him down the cliffs twenty furlongs off. I could meet my darlings without let or hindrance: I'd go in unseen and put everyone to sleep but them alone. What a wonderful thing, aloft and out of arrow-shot, to spy on embattled armies and, if I wished, to support the vanquished and send the victors to sleep and to give victory to

[1] *τύχοι* ND: *τύχοιμι* other MSS.
[2] *ἂν ἐξῆν* Guyet: *ἀνέξειν* Γ: *ἂν ἕξειν* N: *ἂν ἐξῇ* ΑΩ.

στρέψασιν ἀπὸ τῆς τροπῆς. καὶ τὸ ὅλον, παιδιὰν ἐποιούμην ἂν τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον καὶ πάντα ἐμὰ ἦν καὶ θεὸς ἐδόκουν τοῖς ἄλλοις. τοῦτο ἡ ἄκρα εὐδαιμονία ἐστὶ μήτε ἀπολέσθαι μήτε ἐπιβουλευθῆναι δυναμένη, καὶ μάλιστα μεθ' ὑγιείας[1]
45 ἐν μακρῷ τῷ βίῳ. τί ἂν αἰτιάσαιο, ὦ Λυκῖνε, τῆς εὐχῆς;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὐδέν, ὦ Τιμόλαε. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς ἐναντιοῦσθαι ἀνδρὶ πτηνῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ μυρίους τὴν ἰσχύν, πλὴν ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνο ἐρήσομαί σε, εἴ τινα ἄλλον εἶδες ἐν τοσούτοις ἔθνεσιν, ὅσα ὑπερέπτης, γέροντα ἤδη ἄνδρα οὕτω παρακεκινηκότα τὴν γνώμην, ἐπὶ δακτυλίου μικροῦ ὀχούμενον, ὄρη ὅλα κινεῖν ἄκρῳ τῷ δακτύλῳ δυνάμενον, ἐπέραστον πᾶσι, καὶ ταῦτα φαλακρὸν ὄντα καὶ τὴν ῥῖνα σιμόν; ἀτὰρ εἰπέ μοι καὶ τόδε, τί δή ποτε οὐχ εἷς δακτύλιος ἅπαντα ταῦτα δύναταί σοι, ἀλλὰ τοσούτους περιημμένος βαδιῇ τὴν ἀριστερὰν πεφορτισμένος κατὰ δάκτυλον ἕνα; μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπερπαίει ὁ ἀριθμός, καὶ δεήσει καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν συνεπιλαβεῖν. καίτοι ἑνὸς τοῦ ἀναγκαιοτάτου προσδεῖ, ὃς[2] περιθέμενόν σε παύσει μωραίνοντα τὴν πολλὴν ταύτην κόρυζαν ἀποξύσας. ἢ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ὁ ἐλλέβορος ἱκανὸς ποιῆσαι ζωρότερος ποθείς;

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ

46 Ἀλλὰ πάντως, ὦ Λυκῖνε, καὶ αὐτὸς εὔξῃ τι ἤδη ποτέ, ὡς ἂν μάθωμεν οἷα αἰτήσεις ἀνεπίληπτα καὶ ἀνέγκλητα ὁ συκοφαντῶν τοὺς ἄλλους.

[1] ὑγιείας Jacobitz: ὑγείας MSS.

fugitives turned back from their flight. In a word I should make human life my plaything, all things would be mine and I would be thought by all others a god. This is the supreme bliss which cannot be destroyed or schemed against, being particularly accompanied by health in a long life. What fault can you find in my wish, Lycinus?

LYCINUS

None, Timolaus. It isn't safe to oppose a winged man stronger than ten thousand. But I will ask you this: did you see in all those tribes you flew over any other old man so out of his mind, carried by a little ring and able to move whole mountains with his finger-tip, loved by everyone, even though he was bald and snub-nosed? But tell me this: why cannot just one ring do all this for you? Why must you go about weighed down by such a load of rings on one finger of your left hand? There are too many, and your right hand must take its share. Yet there is one more ring you most certainly need to put on, one which will stop your fooling and wipe away all this drivel. Or perhaps a stronger dose of hellebore than usual will be adequate?

TIMOLAUS

Well now it's your turn to wish, Lycinus. Let us see what you who cavil against everybody else can find to ask that no one can censure or pull to pieces.

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[2] προσδεῖ ὅς edd.: πρὸς διὸς MSS.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἀλλ' οὐ δέομαι εὐχῆς ἐγώ. ἥκομεν γὰρ δὴ πρὸς τὸ Δίπυλον, καὶ ὁ βέλτιστος οὑτοσὶ Σάμιππος ἀμφὶ Βαβυλῶνα μονομαχῶν, καὶ σύ, ὦ Τιμόλαε, ἀριστῶν μὲν ἐν Συρίᾳ, δειπνῶν δὲ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοὶ ἐπιβάλλουσι σταδίοις κατεχρήσασθε καλῶς ποιοῦντες. ἄλλως τε οὐκ ἂν δεξαίμην πλουτήσας ἐπ' ὀλίγον ὑπηνέμιόν τινα πλοῦτον ἀνιᾶσθαι μετ' ὀλίγον ψιλὴν τὴν μᾶζαν ἐσθίων, οἷα ὑμεῖς πείσεσθε μετ' ὀλίγον, ἐπειδὰν ἡ εὐδαιμονία μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ ὁ πολὺς πλοῦτος οἴχηται ἀποπτάμενος, αὐτοὶ δὲ καταβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν θησαυρῶν τε καὶ διαδημάτων ὥσπερ ἐξ ἡδίστου ὀνείρατος ἀνεγρόμενοι ἀνόμοια τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας εὑρίσκητε ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὑποκρινόμενοι τραγῳδοὶ ἐξελθόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου λιμώττοντες οἱ πολλοί, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸ ὀλίγου Ἀγαμέμνονες ὄντες ἢ Κρέοντες. λυπήσεσθε οὖν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, καὶ δυσάρεστοι ἔσεσθε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ μάλιστα σύ, ὦ Τιμόλαε, ὁπόταν δέῃ σε τὸ αὐτὸ παθεῖν τῷ Ἰκάρῳ τῆς πτερώσεως διαλυθείσης καταπεσόντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ χαμαὶ βαδίζειν ἀπολέσαντα τοὺς δακτυλίους ἐκείνους ἅπαντας ἀπορρυέντας τῶν δακτύλων. ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἱκανὸν ἀντὶ πάντων θησαυρῶν καὶ Βαβυλῶνος αὐτῆς τὸ γελάσαι μάλα ἡδέως ἐφ' οἷς ὑμεῖς ᾐτήσατε τοιούτοις οὖσι, καὶ ταῦτα φιλοσοφίαν ἐπαινοῦντες.

LYCINUS

I don't need a wish. Look, we've reached the Dipylon, and our excellent Samippus is in single combat over Babylon, you, Timolaus, are breakfasting in Syria and dining in Italy, and you have used up my share of road, for which I'm grateful. Besides I should not like to be rich for a little while with dream-treasure, and then be cross when there was soon but plain barley-cake to eat. That's what you'll find soon when your happiness and your great wealth take wings and are gone and you have to come back from your treasures and your diadems just as you are, like sleepers awaking after a pleasant dream, and you find how different things are at home, like tragic actors who play the part of kings and for the most part starve when off the stage, although just now they were Agamemnons or Creons. So you'll be sorry, in all probability, and displeased with things at home, especially you, Timolaus, when you suffer the fate of Icarus and your wings dissolve, and falling from heaven you must walk on earth, having lost all those rings which have slipped off your fingers. Instead of all your treasures and Babylon itself I have what is enough for me—a good laugh at the sort of thing that you have asked for, for all that you praise philosophy.

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